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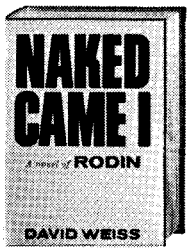

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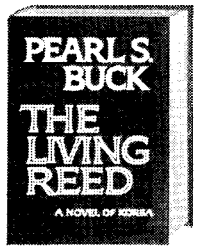

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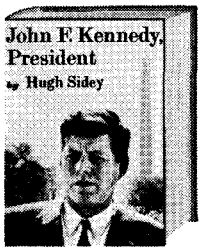

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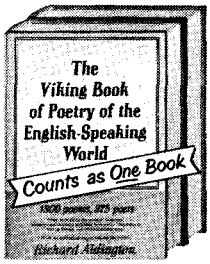

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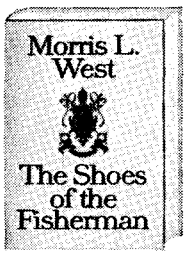

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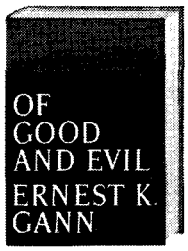

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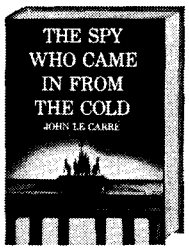

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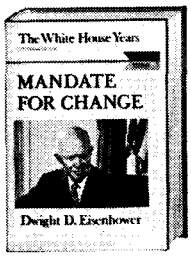

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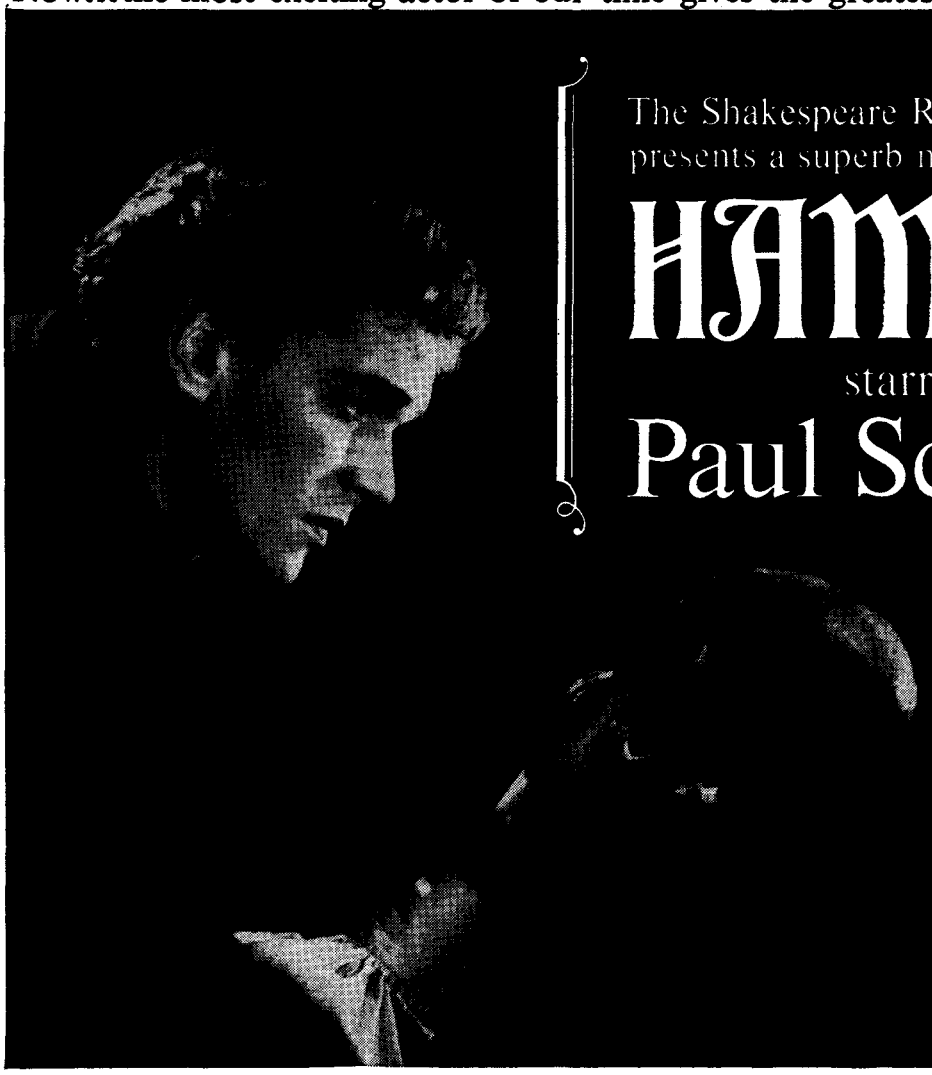

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MR. JOHNSON assumed the burdens of the Presidency with a modesty that befitted the tragic circumstances of the succession. But he soon made it quite clear that he faces his job with a full measure of self-confidence. Indeed, as **Max Ascoli** points out, the LBJ brand has already been placed for all to see on the government in Washington.

Just about a year ago, in our issue of February 14, 1963, **M. J. Rossant** contributed an article entitled "The Economic Education of John F. Kennedy." Mr. Rossant, a member the editorial board of the New York *Times*, now offers an analysis of our new President's economic program.

THE River Jordan isn't much of a stream but, as Lloyd George observed, "Without these waters Palestine would be a wilderness." Each year millions of cubic meters of water that could make the desert bloom flow into the Dead Sea unused because of the hostility between Israel and its Arab neighbors across the Jordan. This spring some of this water will be diverted by Israel to irrigate the Negev Desert. How the Arab nations will react remains to be seen, but **William Mehlman** reports that Israel is ready to fight if necessary to secure its share of the precious water. Mr. Mehlman was for a number of years North American Newspaper Alliance correspondent in Israel, where he also edited the English newsweekly *Front Page*. . . .The unprecedented security measures and contortions of bending over backwards that accompanied the Public Health Service's report on smoking are an indication of the political weight of tobacco in Washington. **Daniel S. Greenberg** examines the report as a "case study in the politics of science." Mr. Greenberg writes a weekly column on science and government for *Science* magazine, a publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. . . . **Hanson W. Baldwin,** the Pulitzer Prize-winning military correspondent of the New York *Times*, shares the concern of many Navy men over the weakening of our sea power. Mr. Baldwin is a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy and served at sea before becoming a journalist. . . . **Stanley Hoffmann,** a close student of the art of politics as practiced by Charles de Gaulle, is professor of French politics and international relations in the Department of Government at Harvard. Professor Hoffmann, who recently returned from a visit to France, is co-author of *In Search of France*, published by the Harvard University Press. . . . Politics closer to home comes under the scrutiny of **Barbara Carter** of our staff, who weighs the merits and demerits of New York City's new charter.

IT IS PERHAPS unfortunate that a young German playwright should be complaining that Pope Pius XII did not tell the Nazis not to do what they did just at a time when the most recent crop of Auschwitz executioners, brought at long last to trial, claim that their consciences are still at ease. Neither the war nor, after all these years, the loud cry of humanity and the voice of many Germans have shaken these men's sense of duty done. An unkind world may be excused for asking, "Why blame a dead Pope for all that horror?" The controversy over the new play is described for us by **Frederic V. Grunfeld,** a free-lance writer whose home base is on Mallorca. . . . **Fernando Krahn's** antediluvian animals bulk large in this issue. . . . **Spencer Klaw,** a New York free-lance writer, undertakes a perilous excursion into the wilds of official government jargon. . . . Discouraged by the junk heaps, billboards, and other horrors that mar the nation's landscape, **C. W. Griffin, Jr.,** a professional engineer, appeals for at least a minimum of planning. . . . **Ronald M. Schneider,** author of *Communism in Guatemala, 1944-1954* (Praeger), teaches at the Institute of Latin American Studies at Columbia.

Our cover is by **Ronald Julius Christensen.**

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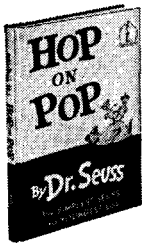

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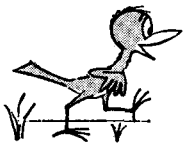

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THE OSWALD CASE

To the Editor: I find myself troubled by the same questions that Leo Sauvage raised in "Oswald in Dallas: A Few Loose Ends" (*The Reporter,* January 2), as well as by the failure of the FBI to make positive ballistic findings.

In a recent television discussion of the legal aspects of the Oswald case, Percy Foreman of Houston, president of the National Association of Defense Lawyers in Criminal Cases, suggested that at the hearing before the Presidential Investigating Commission, Oswald should have counsel and that the proceedings be held in an adversary manner. Apparently what Mr. Foreman had in mind was that the Commission follow the plan used under canon law where a Postulator of the Cause speaks in favor of canonization and an adversary, or Devil's Advocate, appears to test the proof and submit it to the severest scrutiny.

I recently submitted a resolution to Mr. Foreman which endorses this suggestion and states that ". . . we believe the interests of justice will best be served if W. Lee Rankin appear as a Prosecutor or as a Postulator of the Cause and the counsel for Lee Harvey Oswald appear as Defense Counsel to the end that all evidence be submitted under the rules of evidence and that all evidence and witnesses be given the severest scrutiny . . ."

DAN H. MCCULLOUGH
Education Chairman
National Association of
Defense Lawyers in Criminal Cases
Toledo, Ohio

To the Editor: Leo Sauvage's article raises many questions. However, if we accept the premise of Oswald's innocence, we must ask two others:

1. Why so soon after the assassination did Oswald go so far away from the scene of the crime? Unless the story reconstructed by the police is a complete fabrication, we know that Oswald went home (taking a bus and, when that wasn't quick enough, a taxi) to get a jacket (surprising, since it was a warm day). As he approached the theatre where he was arrested, his nervous behavior apparently made him quite noticeable, so that an employee of the movie theatre called the police.

2. If the man who shot policeman J. D. Tippit was not Oswald, then why did Tippit stop him for questioning when he had a description of Oswald's appearance? It seems almost inconceivable, for a number of obvious reasons, that Oswald could have shot the policeman but not the President.

The handling of the crime by the Dallas Police Department is an excellent case for making assassination of the President a Federal offense. But

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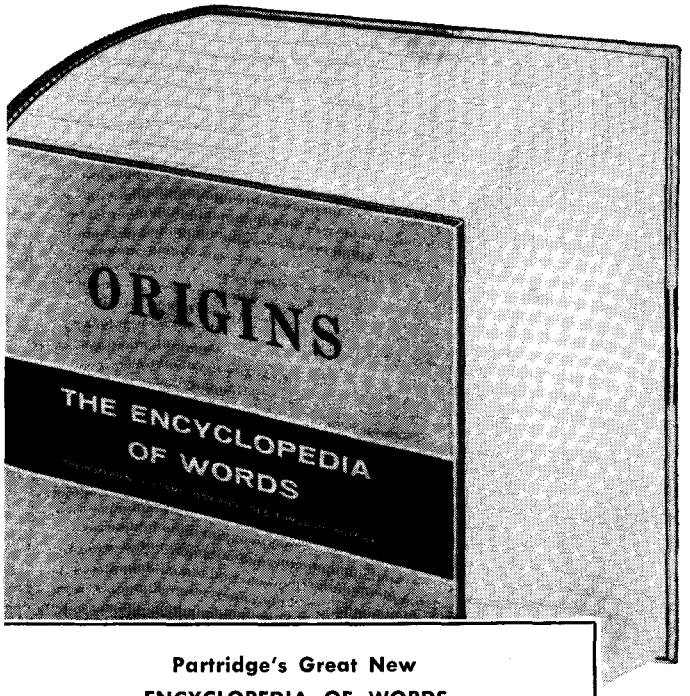

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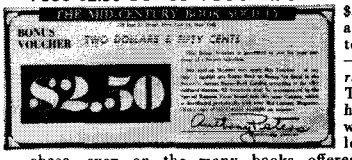

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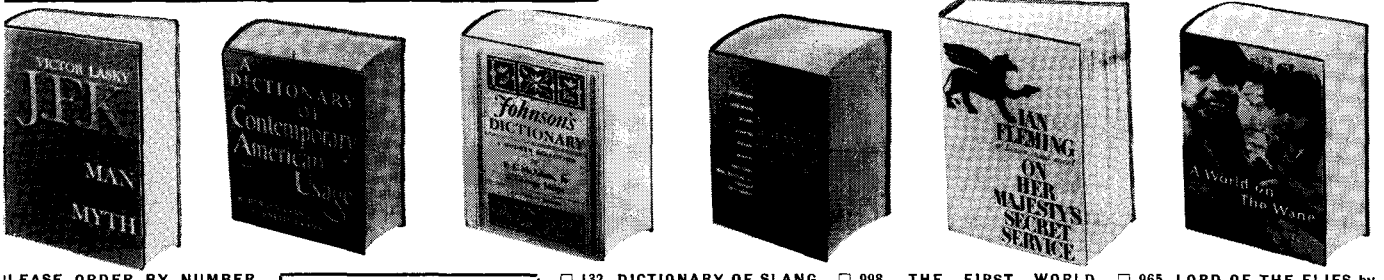

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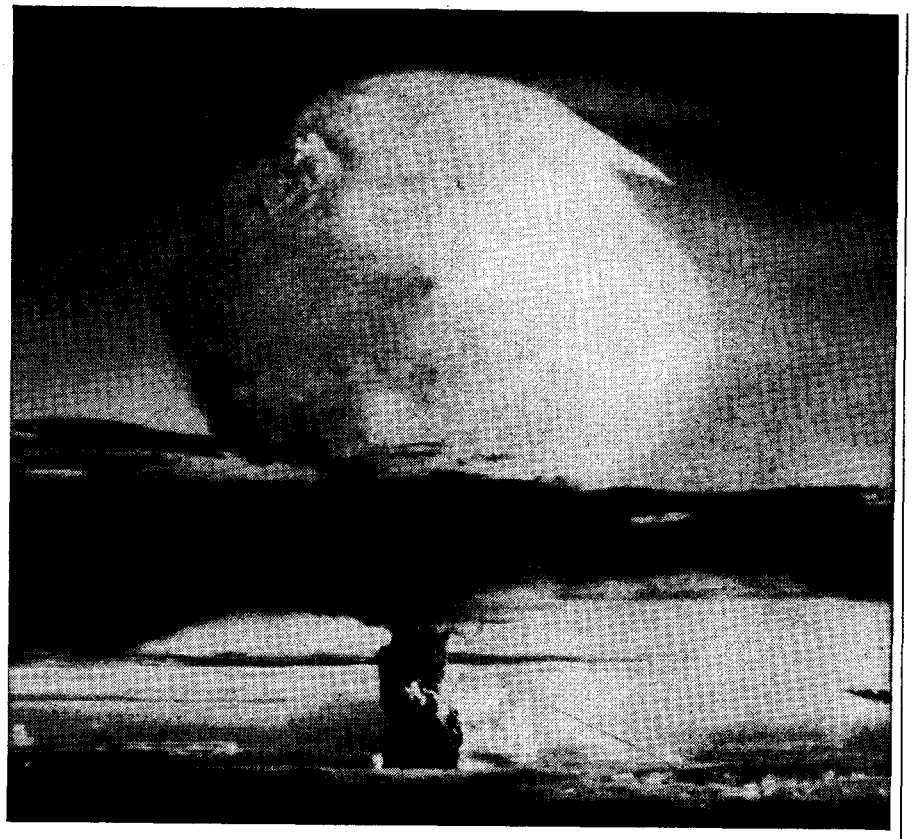

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this sloppy treatment does not negate the fact that evidence against Oswald *seems* to be reasonably incriminating. And what police department, amidst the confusion attending the tragic events of November 22, would not come up, in the confusion, with a number of conflicting stories?

STEVEN J. KELMAN
Great Neck, New York

To the Editor: The article by Leo Sauvage reveals the absolute necessity of a thorough investigation to answer the growing number of questions surrounding the death of our late President.

You are to be commended for printing it. We hope that the Warren Commission will get to the bottom of the matter.

(REV.) C. HERBERT OLIVER
Secretary, Inter-Citizens Committee
Birmingham, Alabama

ALBEE DAMNED

To the Editor: Tom Driver's incisive but careening "What's the Matter With Edward Albee?" (*The Reporter*, January 2) may not deepen our understanding of Albee's problems, but we are left in no doubt as to the limits of Driver's critical faculties, which are hopelessly snarled within a personal view so pernicious and peripheral as to be almost totally without value. His essay rests on nothing more solid than his various and unsupported opinions.

I think that we are already past the time when anybody maintains that Edward Albee is the greatest playwright of our age. Nevertheless, it is possible to discuss *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* on grounds other than its depiction of "how life is"; indeed, we must, if we are to even sense its failure. If Albee's talent does not grow, his plays do: they never stop. The failure in *Who's Afraid?* may be ascribed directly to the organic rhythms in the play, which are endlessly repetitive in the way that flowers and trees, say, are repetitive, and the experience is ultimately a boring one for just that reason. His most formidable artistic barrier—the one he has not yet hurdled and perhaps never will—is his insistence upon repetition as a mode. He began this pattern in *The Zoo Story*, and he has not departed from it once. There is nothing wrong with the exorcism in *Who's Afraid?* beyond the fact that it seems willfully self-indulgent, and that is the one point wherein I find agreement with Driver: nobody, not even Albee, can ask us to take those long jokes as "allegory."

JAMES LINEBERGER
Tyrone Guthrie Theatre
Minneapolis

To the Editor: Professor Driver's piercing comments ought to be reprinted and mailed to every playwright, producer, drama school, actor, and director in the country. This is the soundest

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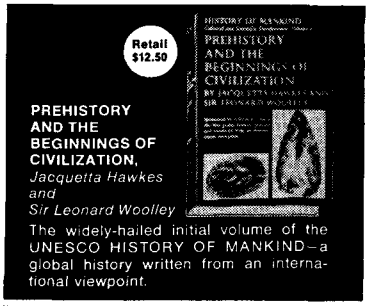

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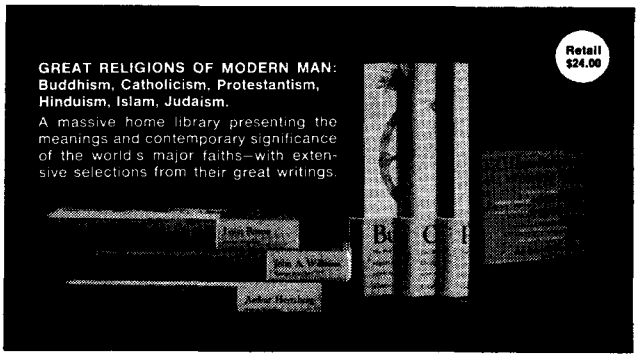

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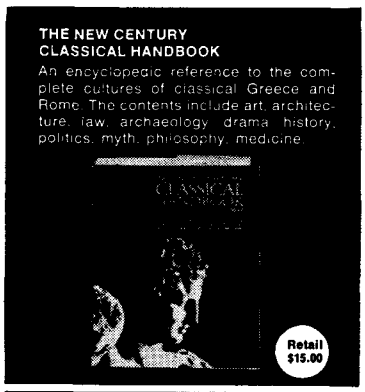

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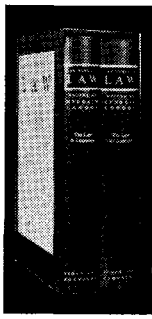

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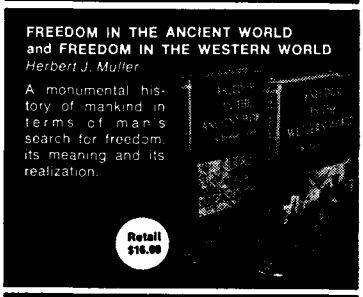

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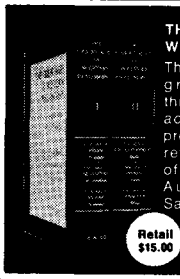

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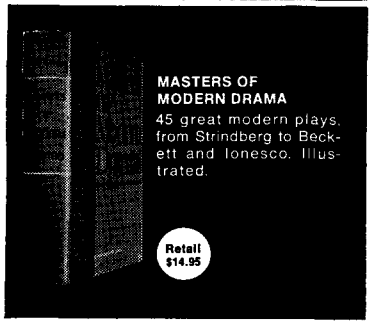

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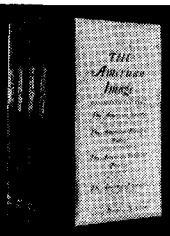

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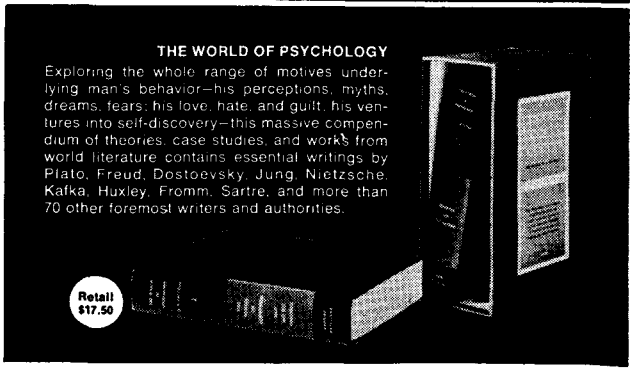

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writing I have read in years. You have found yourself a drama critic of the first water. There is nothing we need more.

A. F. TREVISAN
Bloomfield, Connecticut

To the Editor: Tom Driver is a good and witty writer of some talent; Edward Albee is a good and witty playwright of some genius. Both of them are allowed occasional lapses, but I think that the atmosphere of Professor Driver's theological school must have gotten in his way in his evaluation of Albee. He simply pontificates, saying that Albee's plays are badly written—but does he once present an example of that alleged bad writing? He says, to be sure, "As a maker of plots, Albee hardly exists," yet this could hardly be his criterion of bad writing, since he has pleasant things to say about the Absurdists: Ionesco, Beckett, Genêt. Actually, rightly or wrongly, plot in the theatre has ceased to be a primary value since Chekhov. If he means style, his is a minority opinion, because concerning *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* there seems to be a critical consensus that the dialogue is sparkling.

He may have a point concerning homosexual psychology (though he makes the allegation unsupported by evidence and does not quarrel with the Absurdists on these grounds). But does he not overlook a more important aspect, namely, the alcoholic? It seems to me that this goes further to underwrite the verity of the mood than anything else.

RICHARD C. ANGELL
Albuquerque, New Mexico

INTERVIEW ON CUBA

To the Editor: A *Reporter's* Note of January 2 objected to the French journalist Jean Daniel's quoting President Kennedy as saying, "I think that there is not a country in the world, including all of the regions of Africa and including any country under colonial domination, where the economic colonialization, the humiliation, the exploitation have been worse than those which have ravaged Cuba, the result, in part, of the policy of my country during the Batista régime." You then go on to say that you don't believe it possible that President Kennedy ever said anything like that.

Come now, if President Kennedy could say, on the record, that the high priests of capitalism, the American businessmen, were a bunch of S.O.B.'s, as he did after the steel-price rise, what wouldn't he say off the record? As I read my history books I have a sneaking notion that President Kennedy was right both times.

I think we should be thankful that we had a President for a little while who had enough money of his own to be able to say what he thought.

C. L. BROWN
Roundup, Montana

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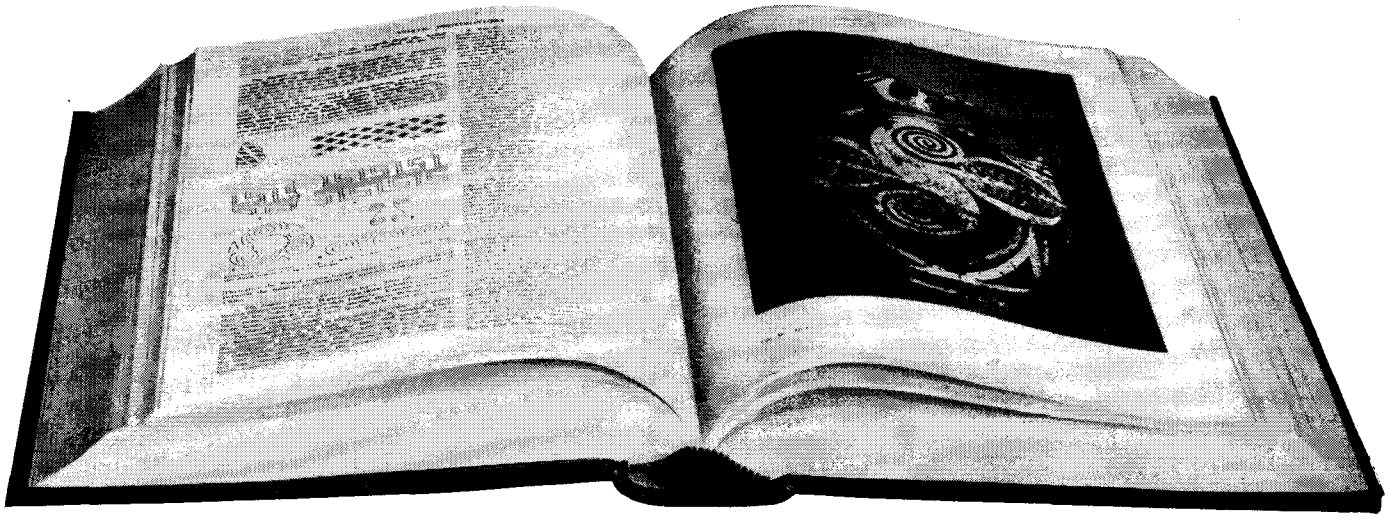

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Shooting for the Moon

Back in the days when Colonel John H. Glenn, Jr., was being made ready for his journey into space, reporters at Cape Canaveral used to quiz NASA spokesman Colonel John A. "Shorty" Powers on the subject of Glenn's apparently inexhaustible good will. Let the flight be delayed ever so many times, let the astronaut climb out of the capsule, having spent an incommodious day there to no avail, was there ever a word of fury or even of impatience? There was not. But surely, the newsmen insisted to Powers, Glenn had said something other than the hopeful little pieties issued in his name upon learning that the flight wouldn't go? As the reporters got to know Glenn better, however, they began to take Powers at his word. Glenn was in all things circumspect, and we mention this because it is the main qualification we can think of that he would bring from his old job to the new one he has said he wants, that of Democratic senator from Ohio.

Circumspection is not the most noticeable quality of Senator Stephen M. Young, the seventy-four-year-old Ohio Democrat whom Glenn would like to replace. A couple of years ago, we printed in these columns excerpts from some of Senator Young's letters gaily telling off his right-wing constituents. And he has made public statements about such organizations as the American Legion that would make Harry Truman blush. Most people took Young's outspokenness as an indication that he did not intend to run again. Now it turns out that courage is not confined to astronauts alone. Young had every intention of seeking another term.

Why is John Glenn going into politics? Not, one must suppose, from a long-standing desire to put his political principles to work, since until recently neither he nor anyone else was quite certain what they were. Only a few weeks ago, Glenn was meeting in Washington with the Ohio GOP state chairman, Ray Bliss, who urged him to run for the House as a Republican. Less than a week before Glenn's announcement, the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* was endorsing his candidacy as a Republican.

There was one suggestion, however, that made better sense than the rest. It was reiterated by Representative Charles A. Vanik (D., Ohio) after Glenn made plain his desire to dump Senator Young. "I urged Colonel Glenn to prepare for the U.S. Senate by seeking the Democratic nomination for Congressman-at-Large for the state of Ohio," Vanik said, "an office in which there was a vacancy." He added: "The high office of U.S. Senator from the state of Ohio should not be made a hero's pawn . . . . in government we cannot risk weightlessness or untested free flight." Glenn, however, who has been making known his interest in seeking office for some time now, decided to shoot for the moon. And there are those who have been quick to point out that despite Young's record as a faithful supporter of the administration, Glenn would have a better chance of beating the probable Republican candidate, Representative Robert A. Taft, Jr. Moreover, politics being what it is, it has already been charged that a deal of dirty campaigning has been undertaken in behalf of the clean-cut hero—a campaign, for instance, of false rumors on the state of Stephen Young's health.

Well, at least the men were well matched. The senator, who once called a constituent a "jackass" for criticizing Mrs. John F. Kennedy and who described another as being "lower than a snake's tail," is just about the only politician we can think of who could take on a

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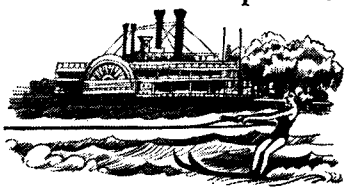
Big-Daddy of Waters

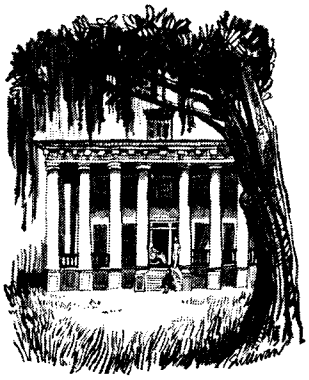
In Mark Twain's 'loving eyes' it was "the great Mississippi ...the majestic, the magnificent Mississippi."
A visiting Charles Dickens, on the other hand, said he couldn't find words ugly enough to describe "this enormous ditch...running liquid mud at six miles an hour."

Point of View

Both men were right, of course, and their diverging assessments would be just as valid today; for the Mississippi, over its 2,348 miles, has as many faces as it has bends. Life along the river's course is a study in contrasts. And it's this world—from the rice marshes of Minnesota to the Louisiana bayous—that David Brinkley will be exploring Sunday night, February 2, in NBC News' full-hour color special, "Our Man on the Mississippi." No travelogue, this. (There'll be no steamboat slowly sinking in the west at fade-out.) Instead, viewers will be shown how life along the Mississippi has changed. The great shipyards, elegant mansions and luxury boats have all but disappeared. Today, power craft and water-skiers zip past ancient, shore-bound paddle-wheelers. River rats have given way to beatniks. Even the raging floods (which once gushed regularly and madly across newsreel screens) have—thankfully—been corseted into obedience.



Yet, in many ways, the people of the river country are as colorful as ever. Brinkley interviewed one Southern politico who lights his cigars with a lighter that plays "Dixie." And even Mark Twain never had the good fortune to bump into a character who earns part of his livelihood by trapping grasshoppers he later sells as bait.
This last chap, as the special will show, has attached a trough-like contraption to the front bumper of his ancient Ford. In a 15-minute romp through a weedy field, the car can collect as many as 2,000 of the insects, few of whom ever dreamed there was a Ford in their future.



There is, to be sure, more money in Southern cotton than in grasshoppers, as will be evidenced in Brinkley's visit to the Arkansas' vast Wilson fields, across the river and about 40 miles from Memphis. Famed as America's largest family-owned plantation, the 30,000 acres are serviced by some 1,100 employes.
Despite the existence of such enterprises, the economy of the Mississippi valley is not nearly what it was. Today the river's strongest commodity is nostalgia. The February 2 special, produced by Ted Yates and Stuart Schulberg, will be evoking much of that nostalgia.

Yesterday's Giant

Brinkley will be examining a waterway that once meant boom towns, fur companies, showboats, rich timber lands, and noisy gambling casinos. Its very name continues to conjure up a uniquely American era.
In actuality, the Mississippi is something else again. As Co-producer Ted Yates puts it, "Most of the river's new things are ugly, including the drug store cowboys, the oil refineries and the housing developments. And the things that are old and beautiful are chipped and poor." Be that as it may, in terms of the American saga, the Mississippi is much more than a twisting meandering landmark. It is an endless stream of consciousness.

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national hero like Glenn with equanimity.

The Pique in Darien

Three points seem clear and unmistakable through the fog of controversy and misunderstanding that has enveloped U.S.-Panamanian relations in the wake of the most recent ruction in the Canal Zone. The first is that U.S. residents of the Canal Zone proper were directly responsible for starting the trouble in the first place; the second is that the riots were quickly and expertly exploited by Communist agents trained in Cuba; the third is that any balanced appraisal suggests that a further accommodation of Panama's economic and emotional desires is eminently in order.

One suggestion with which most political experts on the scene seem in agreement is to proceed as directly and quickly as possible to break up the inbred society of U.S. citizens that has taken root in the Canal Zone. Many of these Yankee colonial families, or Zonians, as they are called, have lived in the Zone for two and three generations. Too many Zonians are narrow, bigoted, and provincial; they are hostile toward the Panamanians and tenacious of their own privileges.

The U.S. government, which is the major employer, should bring home the most obnoxious of them and start a system of rotation. This would help to reduce to more manageable proportions the Panamanians' natural resentment of the simian behavior of the Zonians. With the tinder removed, the sparks would be less dangerous.

What must be borne in mind, despite the gabble of the Zonians to the effect that the Canal Zone is really a part of the United States, is that the very wording of the treaty establishes a kind of subjunctive sovereignty. The operative (and therefore controversial) wording in the convention involves the granting by Panama ". . . to the United States all the rights, power and authority within the zone . . . which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory. . . ." There are some thorny problems ahead, but even so, right now does not seem too

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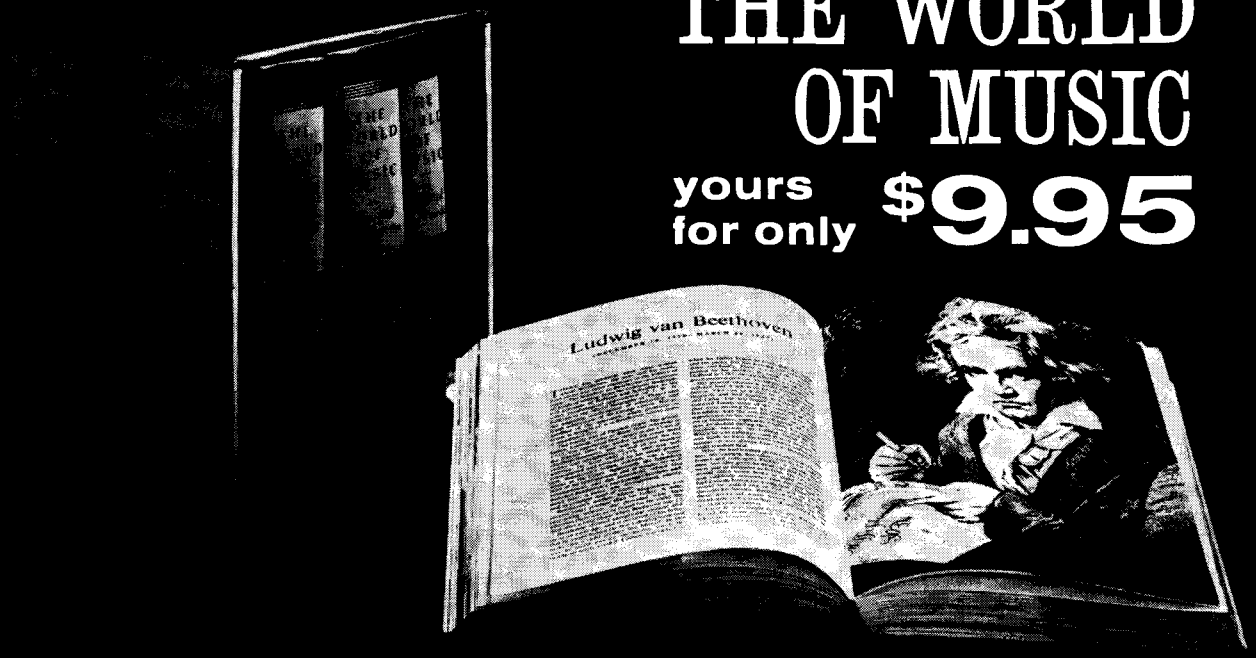

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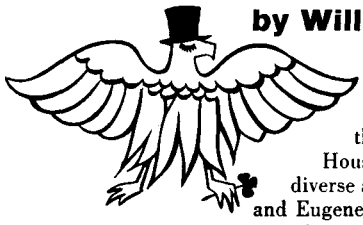

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soon for the United States to assure the moderate government of President Roberto Chiari that he can count on substantive steps to satisfy his countrymen's desire for a larger share of the canal's profits and for recognition of the fact that the canal is, after all, in Panama.

Dead Pan

It's becoming something of a vogue, off Broadway, to restage the old-fashioned melodrama or comedy, such as *The Octoroon* or *The Tavern*. Such plays are rather tricky to pull off successfully. Walter Kerr, for instance, found the recent opening of *Too Much Johnson* marred by too much mugging on the actors' part, too much eyebrow-lifting and other stagey stuff. He recommended what he called Charlie Chaplin's dictum as a guide: "If what you're doing is funny, you don't have to be funny."

It occurred to us that this may be just the secret of Barry Goldwater's style. Certainly his material is appropriate enough. But whether it's mock melodrama (ring Cuba, isolate Russia), fake innocence (why not repeal the income tax), or quintessential conservatism (how dare the poor be poor!), Goldwater plays it straight. Perhaps the critics who predict an early closing have missed the point.

They Have No Hoffa

Last August 28, when the first peacetime compulsory arbitration law in U.S. history was passed, many congressmen believed that they had settled the rail crisis once and for all. The August statute, however, dealt only with the more publicized side of the dispute between the leading railroads and the five unions that represent train crews. It directed a seven-man board to make a final decision on two questions: (1) whether firemen were necessary on freight and yard engines and (2) what should be the proper size of crews in the rear of the train. These two questions comprised the so-called "featherbedding" issue.

Over the dissent of its two union members the board made a decision

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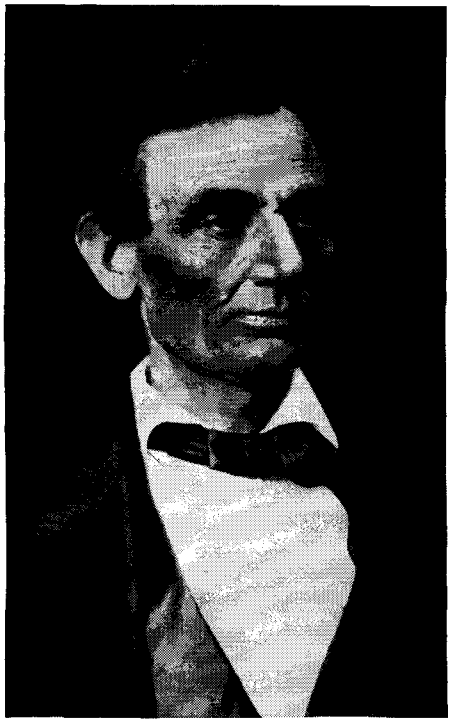

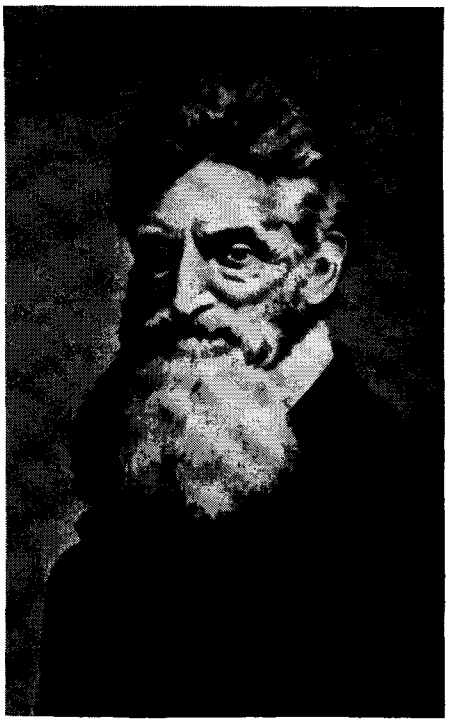

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—GEORGE SANTAYANA

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Some Programs of Special Interest

IX Winter Olympic Games
Daily, from Innsbruck, Austria.
February 1-10 (various times)

Our Man on the Mississippi
David Brinkley presents an up-to-date view of life along the river from Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico.
Sunday, February 2 (10-11 PM)

Cuba: Two Critical Phases in Foreign Policy
Bay of Pigs: Tuesday, February 4 (10-11 PM)
The Missile Crisis: Sunday, Feb. 9 (10-11 PM)

Abe Lincoln in Illinois
Jason Robards, Jr. in Robert Sherwood's Pulitzer Prize play.
Wednesday, February 5 (7:30-9 PM)

Venus in Venice
Veronese's *Mars and Venus United* is examined from a variety of viewpoints.
Sunday, February 9 (4-5 PM)

A Trip to the Moon
Dramatization from two novels by Jules Verne.
Wednesday, February 12 (7:30-8:30 PM)

Robin Hood
A new production of the children's classic.
Saturday, February 15 (12-1 PM)

Pontius Pilate's Points of View
Dramatized adaptation of a story by Claudel.
Sunday, February 16 (2-2:30 PM)

Science All-Stars
A space-capsule gyroscope, heart-lung machine, and remote-control electrocardiograph, exhibited by their teen-aged builders.
Sunday, February 16 (4:30-5 PM)

Paris: A Story of High Fashion
Design and creation of a new collection.
Sunday, February 16 (10-11 PM)

The Story of John Brown
Drama of Harpers Ferry and the Trial.
Friday, February 21 (7:30-8:30 PM)

Discovery in Moscow
Life in the USSR as seen by children (Pt. I).
Sunday, February 23 (1-1:30 PM)

Young People's Concert
Leonard Bernstein and the N.Y. Philharmonic.
Sunday, February 23 (5-6 PM)

Depressed Area, U.S.A.
A documentary study of Appalachia.
Sunday, February 23 (6-6:30 PM)

The Saga of Western Man: 1898
Emergence of the U.S. as a world power.
Saturday, February 29 (7:30-8:30 PM)

* * *

Regularly Scheduled Programs

Monday to Friday: Today/Sunrise Semester

Wednesdays: CBS Reports/Chronicle

Thursdays: ABC News Reports

Fridays: The Great Adventure/That Was The Week That Was

Saturdays: Do You Know?/Exploring/ Watch Mr. Wizard

Sundays: Sunrise Semester/Camera Three/ Face the Nation/Discovery '64/Issues and Answers/Sunday/One of a Kind/Science All-Stars/Wild Kingdom/College Bowl/ The Twentieth Century/Meet the Press/Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color

NOTE: Times (EST), programs, titles, and casts are subject to change. Please consult local listings.

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THE REPORTER

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on November 26, heavily favoring the railroads' position on the first question. The board said the carriers could eventually eliminate nine out of every ten firemen, excluding those on passenger trains. On the subject of crew sizes, it recommended further negotiation and arbitration of those disputes where the deadlock could not be broken. It soon became apparent, however, that Congress, in trying to dispose of the two biggest problems in the railway dispute separately, had unwittingly aggravated and prolonged such lesser conflicts as those over pay rates, night differentials, away-from-home expenses, and the running of trains across seniority districts.

To some extent the lawmakers had acted in response to the assertion of such neutral participants as Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz that these lesser matters could be settled easily once the featherbedding question had been resolved. The assertion might have proved true had the featherbedding question been resolved through negotiation. But because it was settled by arbitration, there was no room for the vital give-and-take on the other matters that traditionally leads to a compromise. Instead, neither side showed much interest in dickering over pay rates until it knew how the board's big decision would affect its bargaining position. Once the decision was announced, management spokesmen were pleased with the turn of events and decided not to press for great changes in other rules immediately, while union leaders were under heavy pressure to produce "more" for their members. Predictably, a new deadlock has been reached, requiring new intervention by Wirtz. If the unions want to risk a strike to enforce their demands, they will leave President Johnson no alternative but to seek another compulsory arbitration act. Under the present act, a walkout could occur on February 25.

If the recent pattern on similar disputes is followed, the new controversies will be submitted to a White House panel and recommendations will be made. The unions will find them unacceptable and will threaten to strike. It seems to be understood on all sides that a settle-

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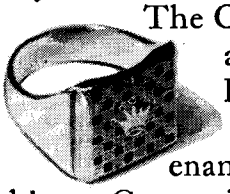
Secondly, you are playing better chess than you used to; i.e., too many of you are beating the Master, and he is anxious to put a stop to *that*. Therefore he has made the second game tougher than the first and the third very tough indeed.

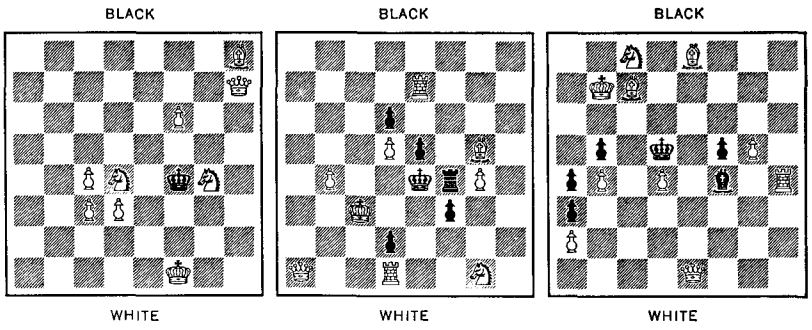
However, if the odds are greater, so are the rewards for your prowess. This year, instead of the customary ten, there will be 101 prizes: The Grand Prize will be an exact replica of Koltanowski's own intricate gold and enamel ring (presented him at Caracas in 1947 by the Venezuelan Chess Federation) appropriately inscribed with your victory. Second through 101st Prizes will be personally autographed copies of his stirring "Adventures of a Chess Master."



Moreover, *all* entrants will receive the world's first Chess I.D. Card signed by Koltanowski with his "7 Rules For Better Chess."

So go to it: settle down with a bottle of Paul Masson's splendid Brandy and—since your opponent is *in absentia*—one glass. (We have shown three to give you a choice of drinks; so take your choice.)

One more thing. Each of these problems is white to move and mate in two moves. If you have never tackled chess problems before this means: A) White (bottom, moving up) makes a move; B) then Black (top, moving down) makes a move; C) then White moves and checkmates. However, *only send in the key move (A) for each problem.* Good Luck!



Dear Paul Masson, Dept. R-2, Saratoga, California

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2nd game._____ 3rd game._____

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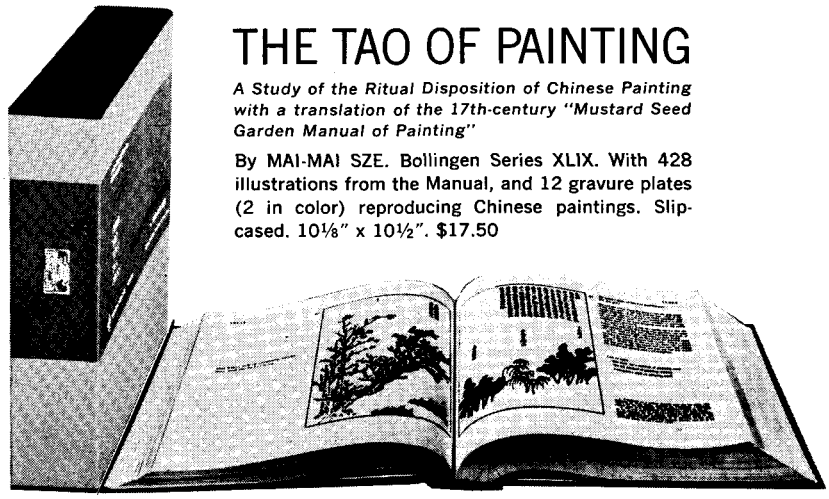

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ment can be achieved only in an atmosphere of crisis; nothing really important is done without cabinet-level and/or White House intercession. This unhappy trend reflects the deterioration of the Railway Labor Act, which was passed in the 1920's with the blessing of both railway unions and management to avoid just such crises. Nowadays there is little or no bargaining on individual railroads or at the national level until an emergency board has made its recommendation. This step, once considered more or less a form of arbitration in itself, has become so routine that the emergency board's recommendations are now usually viewed as the starting point for a union's demands.

What has caused the dilemma in railway bargaining? One obvious factor has been the decision of the railroads to prune their working forces and to effect other economies. But many observers believe that the national scope of bargaining is largely to blame. Were the railroads to negotiate on a regional basis, for instance, the better-off Western carriers might be more generous with the unions than their debt-ridden Eastern cousins. And—equally to the point—even if they weren't, a rail strike limited to a particular region would not paralyze the entire nation. Once the bargaining has begun on a national level, the strike threat becomes unreal because of the tremendous repercussions it would have on the economy.

At the present time, however, there are few if any signs that the cycle of crisis-intervention-crisis is about to be broken. Beyond the points brushed aside by Congress last summer, there are others in contention on the railways. President Johnson has already named an emergency board to investigate a dispute over a twenty-five per cent raise demanded by the Brotherhood of Signalmen. Skilled shop workers are also seeking a large raise, and new demands have been made by unions representing clerks, telegraphers, and maintenance-of-way employees. While there may be doubts about whether a walkout will take place in February, there is a good prospect that most of these issues will be handed back to Congress for further "solutions" by spring.

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A Good Beginning

THERE is a quality of novelty in the first few weeks of a Presidency, a queer mixture of ritualism and adventure that testifies at the same time to the constantly renewed power of the institution and to its plasticity when it becomes embodied in a new Chief Executive. Each time, it is like a new drama that has been played approximately according to the same rules ever since the nation was founded. The tenure of office and the ways of accession to office are rigidly defined, but no one can foresee the use that a man is going to make of that enormous amount of power under law.

Yet in our times there is something entirely new and we are forcibly reminded of this whenever the curtain rises at the opening of a new Presidential drama. Just as the whole nation was unforgettably involved in the tragic end of John F. Kennedy's Presidency, so the whole nation participated in the accession of Lyndon B. Johnson to power. In fact, a much larger audience than the American people was present on both occasions.

A great deal of what we can know about a new President comes from the studied impression he seeks to give us, from the mannerisms of his delivery of a manuscript to which, as we are duly informed, many many people have contributed and for which he has made himself solely responsible. The most important thing we know about President Johnson so far cannot yet be substantiated by analytical reasoning: in whatever he has said, in the way he has said it, in all the public postures in which he has exposed himself, he has brought us the sense of a good, strong, able man. He has given us powerful hints of what he wants to achieve. The time for a more articulate judgment will certainly come. So far, we are happy to register a feeling of confident expectation.

In his State of the Union message, he has shown, in our opinion, a sense of the concrete, a respect for pragmatic reality, blissfully unaccompanied by any attempt at reformulating a pragmatic philosophy. He has evidenced a desire to reconcile the conflicting interests of a plurality of economic and social groups without regaling us with any exaltation of pluralism. In general, we largely prefer politicians who are good at politics and theorists who are good at theorizing, and we have a very limited degree of patience for those who fall between the two stools.

As a politician, he identified the needs of still too large a section of the nation in terms of hospitals and schools and houses. He may have taken some chances with economics, but here too, much as we respect some of his critics, we are inclined to reserve judgment and to find no fault with the President's notion of frugality, for we are convinced that the wealth and the resources of our nation are great indeed but limited. Moreover, as believers in liberty we have no sympathy for the notion that the aims of liberalism can be pursued only by ever-increasing Federal intervention and Federal spending.

OUR CONFIDENCE in President Johnson is sustained by the knowledge of the political skill he exhibited before reaching the highest office. More than once, he proved his capacity to outgrow the sectional interests and outlook with which he had been identified. He became a man of national stature even before reaching the Presidency, and this makes us believe that it is insulting to him to assume that, as President, he is going to give priority to domestic over international affairs. True, in his State of the Union message, the formulation of his diplomatic aims was little more than a footnote, lacking that sense of the concrete that characterized his politician's approach to domestic affairs.

But we fail to be disturbed by his particular emphasis on national affairs in his first major address to Congress, for we are convinced President Johnson knows well that the major forces affecting the destiny of the American people lie far beyond our borders. Some of these forces are not exactly aimed at our well-being. The President has announced his intention to conduct what is called a vigorous peace offensive that will bring him face to face with the major threats to peace. Some queer mannerisms have been noticeable lately in the diplomatic verbiage of our policymakers, and recently that excellent man Secretary Rusk, in a speech delivered by one of his subordinates, even saw fit to appeal to "our Soviet friends." This must have surprised the Russians, as certainly it surprised many of us. In his speech to Congress the President even used the phrase "a world made safe for diversity," thereby, we hope, making it unnecessary to repeat it on future occasions.

An international political order, largely diverse from the one our nation strives for, is relentlessly pursued by an opponent who wants nothing less as his condition of peace than our co-operation in a status quo where he will be in charge of the status and we will guarantee the quo.

THE MORE vigorous the peace offensive, the better will the President recognize the opponent and act accordingly. If we were pessimistic we would say we can rely on Khrushchev. But we are optimistic, and we rely on Johnson.

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The President's Calculated Risk

M. J. ROSSANT

THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM outlined in President Johnson's first State of the Union message has obvious and inevitable ties with the policies of his predecessor, but it is no carbon copy of the Kennedy approach. In its broad outlines there is definite continuity, but the program also reveals Johnson's individual style and political touch. It reflects his own astute assessment of which economic objectives have the most potent appeal as well as the best chance of becoming effective at the earliest possible date. Even before the full details were made available, it was evident that Johnson had fashioned a budget designed for speedy implementation and instant impact.

A program with something for everybody—from tax reductions to new welfare projects to an over-all decline in Federal expenditures—is naturally suspect, inviting attack from doctrinaire bastions on both Left and Right. Defense contractors, who may be the only real losers, have been ominously silent, but fiscal conservatives fear new government extravagance in the unconditional war on poverty while liberal economists are dismayed at the lesser role envisaged for government in the commitment to reduce spending.

Actually, Johnson's economic package is impossible to classify in terms of liberal or conservative doctrines. As the product of a peculiar set of circumstances, it is a carefully revised version of the policies of the Kennedy administration, appearing more restrained in some respects yet politically bolder and less cautious in its reliance on economic theory.

The fact that Johnson assumed responsibility at a time when business activity was rolling to new records for the third year in succession had both drawbacks and advantages. By historic standards, the expansion, which got under way in early 1961, was well along in middle age; and though an imminent decline did not seem likely, Johnson is not the kind of man who would permit nature to take its course. His program represents an attempt to sustain the advance and, if possible, accelerate its pace, at least through the election campaign.

He is willing to pay a high price for this short-term insurance in order to get action; as for the long term, he is characteristically confident that he can manage.

Clearly Johnson has profited from the failures and accomplishments of the Kennedy administration in the economic sphere. The late President was prepared to experiment in his effort to break out of the cycle of frequent booms and bumps experienced during the Eisenhower era. He turned on the tap of government spending, worked out new techniques to keep money from getting too tight or too easy, and proposed reducing taxes in order to restore incentives to the private sector. Some of his plans proved unsuccessful and others failed to get by the roadblock of Congress, but he did—as he had promised—succeed in getting the country moving again.

The formula that he finally concocted of greater spending combined with tax cuts was a mixture of the liberal and conservative meant to be administered in moderation. For Kennedy was no swashbuckling pioneer on the New Frontier of economics. While he endorsed the modern theory that government spending could increase as the nation's total output of goods and services expanded, the rises in outlays he proposed were much smaller than many of his supporters demanded. And it was not until last year, after two years of frustration in presenting a fictitious balance in his proposed budgets, that he broke with this unrealistic tradition to offer a budget deliberately in deficit.

The $2-Billion Surprise

The new President has made judicious use of this economic legacy. He has, for instance, proposed a deficit in his new budget. Admittedly he surprised even the most knowledgeable and won acclaim in the business community for its modest size, yet the acceptance of any deficit at all underscores his adherence to a major feature of the Kennedy line. Similarly, his demand for tax reductions represented another key element in Kennedy's program, and it is well known that the new war on poverty had been in preparation for some time. Finally, the slashes in Federal outlays proposed by Johnson are based on improvements in efficiency and some modifications in strategic military concepts that were also in the making for many months.

But the program that Kennedy planned to assemble would have differed in emphasis and in scope. With three successive years of economic

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expansion behind him, Kennedy would not have felt the need for any decisive shift in policies even though Congress had stalled on taxes. The budget that had been in preparation called for expenditures of more than $103 billion, although it might have been pared to $100 billion. The latter figure, just $2 billion above the current level, would have preserved the principle of increasing outlays as the production of goods and services expanded. Kennedy's proposed deficit would have been in the neighborhood of $7 to $8 billion, representing slight but significant improvement over the $9 billion expected in the current fiscal year. But it is far from certain that it would have mollified the economy bloc of Republican and Democratic conservatives.

Faced with an election and the necessity of maintaining the expansion, Johnson could not afford the luxury of speculation or protracted debate. He made the political judgment that further concessions to the conservative opposition were the price he had to pay for prompt passage of tax cuts. But typically, he tried—and he seems to have succeeded—in turning this to his own advantage: he used frugality to stun and disarm those who might have opposed him.

Accordingly, right up to the day before the State of the Union message was delivered, the White House encouraged dope stories in the press to the effect that the President was hacking away at spending estimates in a ruthless effort to cut the budget to the $100-billion bone. When he finally announced that the projected spending total was below $98 billion, or more than $2 billion under the rock-bottom estimates and below even the outlays for the current year, there was genuine surprise in the conservative bloc—and among many of the administration economists as well. For the final decision was Johnson's alone. He reinforced his commitment to frugality with his prediction that the deficit would be cut to $4.9 billion, which seemed to be economy with a vengeance and was especially reassuring to businessmen who had never completely trusted Kennedy.

There is potent political appeal in a program that is sparing with public funds and generous with the private sector, particularly when an expansion in welfare outlays is part of the package. The President's program is also cleverly designed to provide the maximum economic stimulation immediately. For the net impact of the program would boost consumer purchasing power in 1964 by a substantial amount: the tax cuts are scheduled to go into effect as soon as they are approved, while the new lower level of Federal spending would not become operative until July, with actual declines in outlays being postponed until much later in the year or shoved over into 1965.

The stimulating effect has been reinforced by cramming the bulk of the proposed $11 billion in tax reductions into 1964 rather than spacing it out over the next two years as Kennedy had proposed. For if Congress approves Johnson's request to cut the individual withholding rate from eighteen to fourteen instead of to fifteen per cent as recommended by Kennedy, an additional $200 million a month in tax relief will be released. Moreover, in his budget estimate, Johnson makes the sanguine assumption that tax reductions will be effective on February 1, which would provide $8.8 billion in individual tax reductions and more than $1 billion in relief to corporations during 1964. (Corporations are slated to get another billion in relief next year.) Indeed, if the President manages to get his way, almost $10 billion of the $11 billion in tax reductions will be unleashed this year, with most of this stimulus acting before the November elections.

To be sure, Johnson's timetable and the composition of the package can be altered by Congress. Congressmen are already complaining that the new budget is full of optimistic guesswork and financial gimmickry, but these are accepted techniques that, like the objections to them, are part of the rules of the game. If experience is any guide, the actual budget results will not conform to Johnson's confident predictions. Nevertheless, he is making good use of them in seeking to win converts in the conservative camp without causing defections among the liberals.

In all probability the impact of the budget will be less expansionary in the short run and less restrictive later on than the President planned. For it is highly doubtful that Congress will act on taxes by February. If it delays beyond this date, or if it decides against making the additional cut in the withholding rate, the deficit for fiscal 1964 would be decreased by anywhere from $1 to $2 billion and the deficit for fiscal 1965 would increase by the same amount.

On the spending side, Congress may be reluctant to approve Johnson's cutbacks in key areas such as defense, agriculture, the Veterans Administration, or the Post Office—especially with an election just around the corner. In any case, some of the spending declines are more apparent than real. The major part of the cuts in agricultural outlays, for example, are based on extremely optimistic assumptions about the weather and Congressional acceptance of lower price supports. So if the usual practice of underestimating outlays and overestimating receipts prevails, the prospect is for a rise of about $2 billion over this year's spending total.

Too Much Too Soon?

The President may be betting on just this kind of result. But if he is judged on the basis of his announced program, he is vulnerable to a number of criticisms. In changing the mix of economic policy, Johnson could upset the expansion itself, injecting too much stimulation in the short run and too much restraint later, when a booster shot may well be needed. The current rise in business activity is not a tender reed; on the contrary, it is a remarkably broad and pervasive expansion. This healthy state of affairs is partly accidental, but it is also due to Kennedy's moderation in policy and his knack of making use of a wide variety of instruments to keep the expansion going. In this sense, it can truly be said that the recovery to date was made in Washington.

The Johnson approach of relying solely on tax cuts to sustain the advance is blunter and less moderate than that of his predecessor. Under the Johnson formula, the government, by reducing its outlays, will have less influence in determining economic trends—a definite departure from the Kennedy line. This shift disturbs many economists—and

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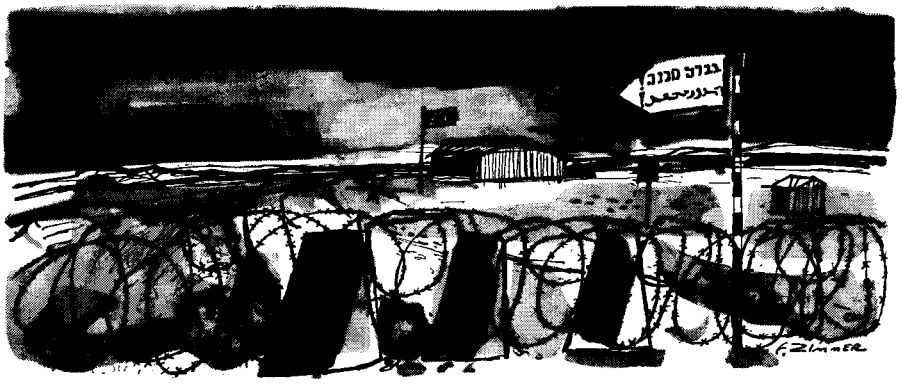
not only those who favor a constantly rising level of government expenditures.

No one would argue that waste and extravagance should be tolerated. Liberal economists make the point that there is a difference between efficiency, or frugality in spending, and actual retrenchment. It is one thing to cut out fat; it is another to reduce spending for programs that contribute to economic growth. The Kennedy administration recognized this difference and did not hesitate to urge increased Federal outlays to stimulate the economy. But unless Johnson is prepared to spend a great deal more on the war against poverty than he seems to contemplate, there is a real risk that declining government outlays will act as a brake on business just when the boost provided by the tax cut will have spent itself.

The net effect of Johnson's program may be significantly altered, of course, if Congress behaves true to form by giving him tax reductions somewhat later than he requested and refusing to approve all of his proposed cuts in spending. Yet he may be asking for trouble in the future in his insistence on frugality and his boast that government spending will represent a smaller proportion of the total economy than at any time in well over a decade. Even if substantial reductions can be made in defense outlays, he may not be able to transfer these savings into other government programs or add to total outlays. Thus, the price he will have to pay for immediate tax reductions may be far bigger than the $2 billion in additional cutbacks he has proposed. It may involve giving up a substantial measure of government control over the economy.

If this happens, it could bring a return to the economic instability of the Eisenhower era, when monetary and fiscal policies followed an erratic course of too much stimulation succeeded by too much restraint. Recessions, like expansions, can be made in Washington. In his heavy reliance on the tax cut, Johnson is running the risk of taking out too much insurance against a short-term decline. The danger is that he may need the insurance most just when his policy runs out.

AT HOME & ABROAD



Jordan's Troubled Waters

WILLIAM MEHLMAN

"IT WOULD NOT take much imagination to envision what would happen in the way of sabotage and even bloodshed if the waters of the Jordan were to remain unregulated indefinitely. . . . Even if the Arabs and Israelis were living in neighborly harmony and sweet bliss today, there would sure to be a rumpus over the contested waters of the Jordan." So said the late Eric Johnston in December, 1953, after returning from a visit to the Middle East where he was acting as personal representative of President Eisenhower in an effort to work out a regional scheme for the division of the Jordan River waters among its four riparian nations, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan.

Eric Johnston's proposed solution was blocked by the Arabs in 1955, the river remains unregulated, and now, after ten years, the rumpus Johnston foresaw is brewing along the Jordan.

Sometime late this spring, Israel will begin diverting 150-180 million cubic meters of Jordan River water annually through a $150-million pipeline stretching a hundred miles from the western Galilee to the northern reaches of the Negev Desert. Within five years, the annual diversion should total 320 million cubic meters. The diversion will be made at the northwestern tip of the Sea of Galilee, Israeli territory since the 1949 armistice agreement ending the Arab-Israeli war. The Arab world has opposed the project ever since it was announced by Israel in the closing months of 1959. Last December, the military chiefs of eleven Arab states met in Cairo to agree on a united plan of action. This was followed this month by the Cairo "summit" conference of political leaders of the thirteen Arab League nations, resulting in the formation of a joint Arab military command. Whether all this adds up to a "third round" of Arab-Israel hostilities, or just "a brief commercial between the Arab dramas," as one Israeli official described it, there seems to be no doubt that events in the Middle East have entered a new phase.

THE JORDAN rises 230 feet above sea level, in the foothills of the Anti-Lebanon mountains, drops to 650 feet below sea level at the Sea of Galilee, and then descends another 600 feet through the earth's deepest natural valley to the Dead Sea, 120 miles to the south. It is a muddy stream, but to the parched southern districts of Israel and Jordan, the Jordan's waters are pure gold.

The 1953 Johnston mission was the Eisenhower administration's re-

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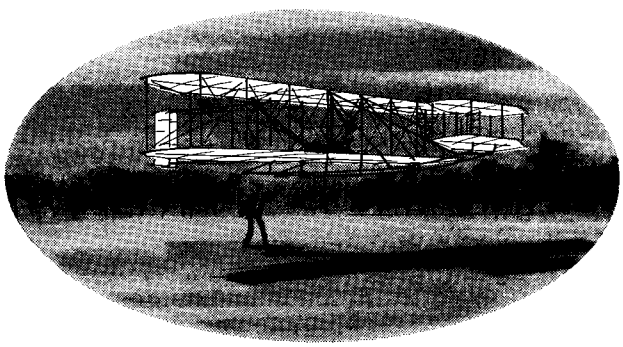
In fifty years, what?

Perhaps the best way to look 50 years into the future of flight is to look back fifty years.

When the Wright Brothers achieved powered flight on Kill Devil Hill, did anyone expect to see supersonic aircraft? Aircraft carriers? Helicopters and hovercraft?

On July 20 of last year, United Technology Center fired a solid propellant rocket motor which developed over a million pounds of thrust—two and one half times the power needed to send astronaut Cooper into a 23-orbit flight last year. Where will this development lead in 50 years? Interplanetary freight lines? Space spas? Shipping fleets of rocket propelled craft?

One thing is certain: this country must continue to move out into space. Interplanetary exploration will soon provide the same opportunities that once took bold men across oceans and into new-found continents. In fact, space power may ultimately decide the fate of nations.



United Technology Center is among the leaders in research, development and production of the wide range of propulsion systems that will bring the space age to maturity. Concentrating its efforts on liquid, hybrid, and solid propellant rocket motors, UTC has demonstrated a capability ranging from giant first-stage "booster" motors to tiny retrorockets and guidance motors for lunar landings.

UTC has contributed to a number of major developments in the field of space technology: the "building block" concept of segmented solid rockets; liquid rocket engine throttleability; the first fiberglass-filament-wound segmented solid propellant motor; hybrid engines that combine the advantages of both liquids and solids for start, stop, and re-start capability; thrust vector control of solid boosters; "space storable" fuels for liquid motors; and the successful firing of the first solid propellant rocket motor to develop more than a million pounds of thrust.

Two factors work together to make such accomplishments possible at UTC: the kind of people we have, and the tools we furnish them.

UTC is managed by a team of men who combine the roles of scientist and businessman. These men have a depth of experience and knowledge in rocket propulsion technology; their technical and administrative skills have already been demonstrated during exceptional careers both in defense programs and in private industry. Using the project management concept for complex programs in research and production, the individual project teams have at their disposal any technical capability within the company which is necessary to support a particular program.

To carry out these individual and combined efforts, UTC has made major investments in the future of space. A complex of company-owned facilities—designed expressly for the tasks at hand—has been established near Coyote, California, 25 miles southeast of the research, engineering and administrative headquarters at Sunnyvale. This huge Development Center is a completely integrated "factory" for developing, testing, and processing solid, liquid, and hybrid propellant engines. Facilities include the world's largest vertical test bay for solid propellant rocket motors, which can handle static firings with up to four million pounds of thrust;

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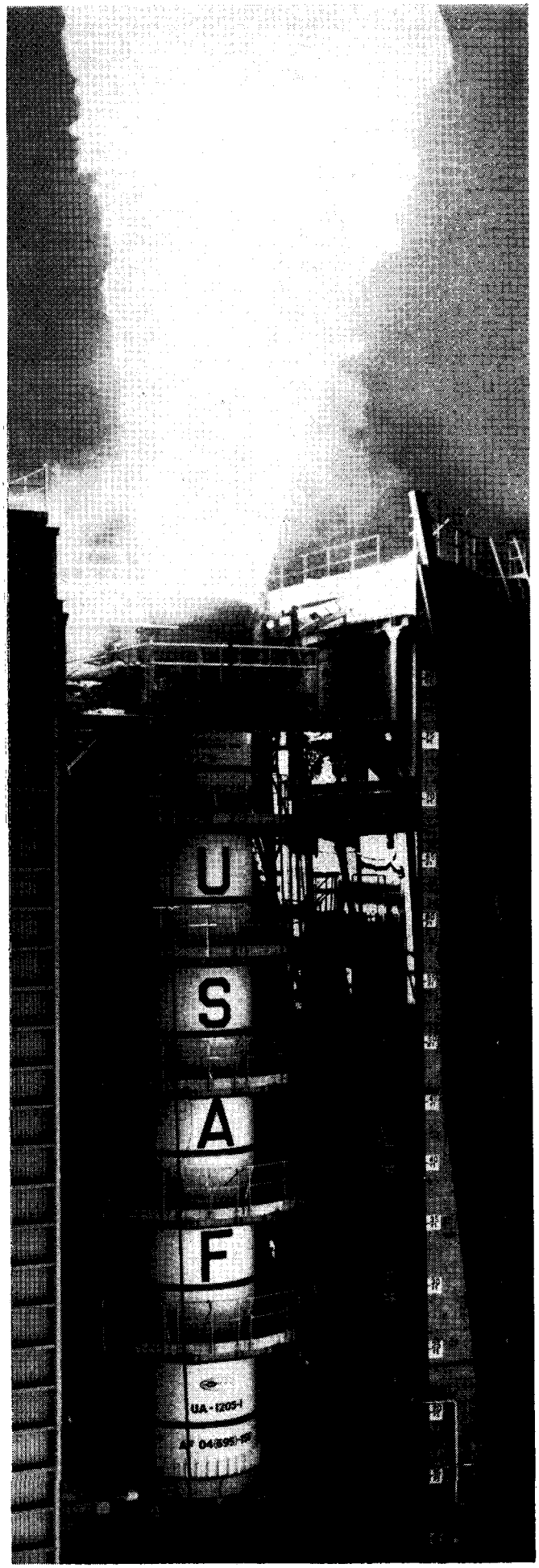

production facilities capable of producing filament-wound motor casings up to 20 feet in diameter; in-ground ovens for casting and curing booster motors and motor segments over 200 inches in diameter; and a new generation of materials-handling equipment to process and move these mighty motors.

UTC's research and development programs are concerned with the broad evaluation of scientific phenomena as they relate to advanced propulsion concepts. These programs reflect UTC's interest in a broad spectrum of space propulsion activities: advanced high performance propellant ingredients, storable bipropellants, development of high-temperature metals and structural materials for engine systems, methods of ignition and thrust vector control, basic research in hybrid combustion, the response of materials and propellants to radiation and space environments, and many others.

As a natural corollary to these fundamental studies, UTC has accumulated "technical fallout" of great potential value to industries not directly related to space: high strength metals, chemical processing techniques, specialized electronics systems for data gathering, advanced techniques in plastic fabrication, plus a surprising number of new uses for materials that have long been familiar to science and industry.

United Technology Center's present position in the rocket propulsion field is not a matter of chance. As an operating division of United Aircraft Corporation, it draws on a depth of technical, financial and management resources accrued by the parent company during four decades of flight propulsion accomplishment.

Accelerated by the spur of national interests, the rapid development of space technology in the United States is inevitable. Through careful planning and dedicated effort, UTC will continue to play an important role in that development.

United Technology Center

SUNNYVALE, CALIFORNIA

UTC

DIVISION OF UNITED AIRCRAFT CORPORATION

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sponse to a situation in the Middle East that had become untenable. Three years earlier Israel had raised a storm by proceeding to drain and irrigate the malaria-infested swamps around Lake Huleh above the Sea of Galilee. Here the three main tributaries of the Jordan—the Hasbani, the Baniyas, and the Dan—meet. Israel's aim was to put fifteen thousand new acres of farmland under cultivation. But the task involved deepening the Jordan River bed in the demilitarized zone adjacent to the lake and Syria objected, charging a violation of the 1949 armistice agreement.

The matter finally went to the U.N. Security Council and in June, 1951, the chief of staff of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization ruled that the armistice agreement did not preclude civilian land conservation schemes and authorized completion of the project by Israel on the non-Arab lands in the demilitarized zone.

In September, 1953, tempers flared again when Israel began construction of a hydroelectric power project at the southern end of a canal extending from the Jordan River south of the Bnot Yaacov Bridge to the Sea of Galilee. The Bnot Yaacov project had two purposes, among others: to use the 850-foot drop in the Jordan flow between Mt. Hermon and the Sea of Galilee to generate power, and to use the power to pump water through the canal into a Jordan River diversion scheme. Syria complained to the Security Council that the plan would infringe on the irrigation rights of Syrians living in the upper Jordan area. Work was ordered stopped on the project pending an investigation by U.N. experts.

Israel would have gone ahead with the Bnot Yaacov project, but the Johnston mission had already stepped into the breach with its proposal for a regional Jordan development plan. The original Johnston Plan projected a division of the flow of the Jordan watershed among Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan, with the Sea of Galilee to be used as a storage point for the entire region. The three Arab states were to receive approximately sixty-seven per cent of the water (879 million cubic meters), Israel the remaining thirty-three per cent (426 million cubic meters). The United States was committed to provide the bulk of the financing for the scheme, then estimated at $120 million.

Which Choice for the Arabs?

Neither side was happy with the Johnston Plan. The Arabs, arguing that only twenty-three per cent of Jordan's waters originated in Israel, felt that a thirty-three per cent share represented an inequitably large portion of the flow to their unwelcome neighbor. Moreover, they objected strongly to the use of the Sea of Galilee, completely in Israeli hands, as a central storage depot. Israel, resentful of the fact that the Johnston Plan did not specifically authorize the diversion of its portion of the water to the Negev, was not enthusiastic over the prospect of probable international supervision of the Sea of Galilee in the event the plan were accepted. Technicians representing all four countries, however, approved the scheme as the best way out of the impasse, and Israel, despite deep reservations, agreed to go along with it. But the Arab League, confronted with the specter of *de facto* recognition of Israel, shelved the Johnston Plan.

At this point, the only course open to the four riparians was unilateral development of the Jordan's resources. This they proceeded to do. Syria and Lebanon, with ample water already, contented themselves with limited projects. Jordan initiated the East Ghor Canal scheme in 1958. This involved diverting the Yarmuk River, which had formerly converged with the Jordan on Israeli territory, for the irrigation of a large area in the northern portion of the Jordan Valley. Less than two years later, Israel announced the start of its Kinneret-Negev project.

The Israeli diversion scheme presents the Arabs with five possible alternatives. They can mount the all-out attack against Israel they have repeatedly threatened over the past three years. They can reinstigate the kind of guerrilla warfare, sabotage, and systematic border harassment that finally led to the Sinai Campaign in 1956. They can attempt to dam up the Hasbani and Baniyas, the two tributaries of the Jordan originating in Lebanon and Syria. They can put their case against the Israeli project to the Security Council as a violation of the 1949 armistice agreement. Or they can simply forget the whole thing.

As regards these five possibilities, the official Israeli attitude remains one of guarded optimism. Government officials do not rule out the possibility of a full-scale clash—the Arabs have goaded one another into less promising adventures in the past—but they continue to view it as highly unlikely. The informed consensus in Israel is that the Jordan River represents the wrong issue for the Arabs at the wrong time.

GIDEON RAFAEL, assistant director-general of the Israeli foreign ministry and a specialist on Middle East and U.N. affairs, personifies this optimisim. He believes that after a predictable interval of ritual saber-rattling, the Arabs "will look the other way" when the actual diversion of the river begins later this year. "We will, of course, avoid provocations of any kind," he noted. "There will be no fanfare or snipping of ribbons to mark the opening of the pipeline. No ceremonial taps will be turned on and no speeches made. Everything will proceed as normally and quietly as possible under the circumstances. But as far as war over the Jordan is concerned, I doubt it. The Arabs are in a poor position for war at this time, either collectively or individually—and they know it better than anyone else."

Rafael characterized so-called Arab unity over the Jordan River issue as "a myth." Iraq's promise of aid to Syria under a joint command in the event of war, he said, has been rendered ludicrous by the presence of five thousand Syrian troops in Iraq to help subdue the rebellious Kurds. Besides, he added, who would guarantee that any of the Syrian-Iraqi vows made during their brief Ba'athist honeymoon still hold true now that a pro-Nasserite has moved into power in Iraq? As for the Egyptians, without whose modern Soviet weapons no unified Arab action against Israel could be contemplated, Rafael pointed out that Nasser is tied down

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to a war of attrition in Yemen with no prospect of an early release.

"The Ba'athists and King Hussein are no friends of Nasser," Rafael added. "They stand in the path of his domination of the Arab world and it is not entirely unlikely, in our view, that he would enjoy seeing them both take a bloody nose over the Jordan River question."

A somewhat less cheerful picture of the situation was recently sketched by a high-ranking Israeli Army officer. "The Syrians," he said, "enjoy a tactical advantage over us that can only be described as beautiful. They command the hills overlooking the Sea of Galilee where our pumping installations will initiate the water-tapping process. They are entrenched, their artillery and short-range weapons are modern, effective, and practically invulnerable to air attack, and they can shoot at us almost at will. We are living in a fishbowl down there." The officer admitted that in the event of an attack, Israel would probably be forced to take the Syrian heights to survive—and that would involve a punishing toll of human lives.

Biblical Precedents

Beyond its comparatively clear-cut military aspects, the Jordan River dispute offers an enormous tangle of legal, political, economic, moral, and ethical problems. Israel's legal case for diversion is based in the ancient prerogatives of national sovereignty. The Sea of Galilee, a natural reservoir of the Jordan and the point of departure for the diversion project, lies entirely within Israeli territory. Israel had made it clear from the start that she intends to do with her territorial waters as she sees fit. It is felt, moreover, that by rejecting the Johnston Plan and by Jordan's unilateral diversion of the Yarmuk River, the Arabs have forfeited any legal or moral claim they may have had to a voice in Israel's water development policies.

The Arab case falls into two categories—the political hard line and the moral-legal soft line. For a proper appreciation of the first, it must be understood that the Arabs never accepted the boundaries of Israel set forth in the 1949 armistice agreement. They signed the pact only because they had no choice. They had been beaten decisively in the field. But they never granted the legality of it. Thus, as Saadat Hassan, an Arab League spokesman, recently stated, "As far as we are concerned, Israel has no boundaries —only demarcation lines."

The moral-legal approach to the problem leans on several factors. Probably the most persuasive of them is the contention of Arab engineers that the diversion of 320 million cubic meters of water annually from the Sea of Galilee would leave the lower course of the Jordan Valley destructively saline, affecting some 200,000 Arab farmers, many of them Palestinian refugees, living in the area.

There is little doubt that the removal of substantial quantities of fresh water from the Sea of Galilee will increase the salinity of the lower course of the Jordan because of known salt-water springs, emanating from the Mediterranean, that flow beneath the lake. These springs are presently diluted by the fresh-water flow of the river, but could cause trouble to crops in the lower Jordan in the event of diversion. But the Arabs fail to mention two important facts. The Johnston Plan, which allocated to Israel far more water than she proposes to take under her own scheme and which Arab technicians accepted, envisioned the lower Jordan as little more than a drainage ditch. Arab farmers in the area were to be compensated with fresh water under the regional development program.

Another fact on which the Arabs are notably silent is the destructive salinity already created in the lower Jordan Valley by the Jordanian government's diversion of the Yarmuk River waters for the East Ghor Canal project. Significantly, Jordan has had to compensate Arab farmers for their loss with a generous allocation of East Ghor Canal water.

THE BIG GAMBLE inherent in the Kinneret-Negev diversion project, according to many Israelis, is not the remote possibility of war with the Arabs but the real possibility of being thwarted by nature. Aharon Wiener, director general of Tahal, the water-development arm of the government, has admitted that the saline springs beneath the Sea of Galilee give the waters of the lake a rather high salt content of 310 milligrams per cubic meter even under normal conditions. With the poor rainfall Israel has had during the past four years, the salt level has increased to 365 miligrams per cubic meter. It was with the intention of averting this hazard that Israel originally planned to divert the Jordan above the Sea of Galilee at Bnot Yaacov. There is insufficient scientific information presently available on the precise toleration level of crops to salinated fresh water, but it is felt that the Jordan waters flowing out of the Galilee may be perilously close to the danger point, at least where certain crops are concerned. These facts were known to the Israeli government before the diversion project was initiated, but the need for water was so great that the risk was deemed worth taking. Wiener and his colleagues are confident that they can improve the quality of the water in time, but this may involve harnessing and redirecting the salt-water springs under the lake, an undertaking of incalculable cost and difficulty.

IN ONE FASHION or another the denouement to the Jordan River story will be written sometime this year when Israel begins tapping water from the Galilee. The Israelis' position is quite clear. Even if they could forego the Jordan water, which they claim they cannot, they have gone too far with the Kinneret-Negev project to turn back now. The $150 million spent on the diversion scheme represents the largest sum ever allocated by Israel for a single project in its sixteen-year history. More important, they maintain, an issue of national sovereignty is at stake here fully as significant as the one that finally pried open the Strait of Aqaba to Israeli shipping in 1956. They will fight, if necessary, to secure it.

"We have accommodated the Arabs on every reasonable objection they have raised," said Gideon Rafael. "That includes abandoning our original plan to divert above the Sea of Galilee at the sacrifice of hydroelectric power. Our conscience is now clear. The rest is in their hands."

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The Burning Question: Tobacco and Politics

DANIEL S. GREENBERG

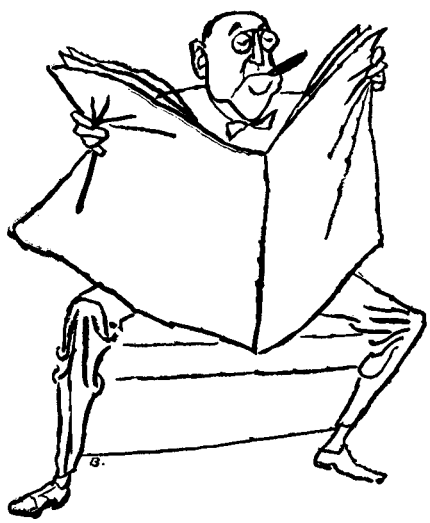
"If tobacco were spinach," a leading government cancer researcher remarked several years ago, "the government would ban it and no one would give a damn."

Whatever its botanical relationship to spinach may be, tobacco is economically and politically in a different world, and this is in no way better illustrated than in the preparation and release of the Public Health Service's long-delayed advisory report, "Smoking and Health." The gist of the report, fourteen months in preparation, was the well-worn assertion that tobacco is detrimental to health, something that has been shouted for years by the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, numerous other prestigious and respected voluntary health organizations both here and abroad, and in 1959 even by the man who then headed the Public Health Service. Nevertheless, the PHS knew it was playing with something hotter than the tip of a lighted butt when it got prodded into the tobacco issue early in the Kennedy administration. Accordingly, its appetite for the task couldn't have been less if it had been asked to state publicly ten good reasons why we should recognize Red China.

The result was one of the most curiously arranged studies ever taken by the scientific community, a study whose goal was to box the tobacco industry into acknowledging that it is a public health menace. The success of this ploy remains to be seen, but as a case study in the politics of science, the tobacco study is probably assured an enduring place.

To go back to the beginning, it should be pointed out that the PHS may be a killer when it comes to microbes, but on the political scene it is a courteous, trouble-shunning outfit, with little zest for or skill in dealing with politically volatile issues.

The Public Health Service, for example, has been given authority to work out and enforce the abatement of water pollution, but it has shown such a lack of eagerness to take on the industries and municipalities that are befouling America's waterways that a sizable movement is afoot in Congress to move the authority elsewhere. Through the 1950's, as evidence against tobacco began to accumulate, a similar disinclination for battle caused the PHS to turn a deaf ear to demands for action against smoking. When the pressures became too great, Leroy Burney, then Surgeon General, issued a paper that cautiously concluded: "The weight of evidence at present implicates smoking as the principal etiological factor in the increased incidence of lung cancer." He refused to go further, and as a result, the Federal Trade Commission, which had been considering the idea of requiring a warning statement on each pack of cigarettes, also refused to go further than its existing restrictions on health claims in cigarette ads. The reasoning of the FTC was that it needed a definitive government-backed statement against tobacco to defend the labeling requirement against a legal counterattack by the industry.



By the time the Kennedy administration came to office, the evidence against tobacco had become overwhelming. The American Cancer Society had concluded emphatically that a grand array of reliable studies had established "beyond a reasonable doubt that cigarette smoking is the major cause of the unprecedented increase in lung cancer." That would seem to state the scientific side of the case, but in that year, Americans had laid out $6.4 billion for 484 billion cigarettes, and the half dozen or so Southern states reaping most of this income weren't inclined to see the PHS or any other government organization attempt to ruin the game. The Congressional delegations of these states had earlier demonstrated their power to block legislative action. In 1958, Representative John Blatnik, Democrat of Minnesota, headed a subcommittee that conducted Congress's first and only investigation of tobacco, a study of filter-tip claims. The subcommittee got as far as a report which stated that "The cigarette manufacturers have deceived the American public through their advertising of filter-tip cigarettes." Further hearings were planned, but before they were held, the subcommittee was unexplainedly dissolved by its parent committee. No Congressional committee has ever again ventured near the issue.

The Kennedy administration, with its abundance of Congressional woes, at first seemed happily disposed toward avoiding anything that would antagonize the tobacco-state delegations. But having presented itself as a welfare-minded administration, it wasn't able to stay away from the issue indefinitely. This was especially true after Britain's Royal College of Physicians roundly condemned tobacco ("cigarette smoking is the most likely cause of the recent world-wide increase in deaths from lung cancer"). The British government endorsed the report and adopted educational measures designed to discourage smoking.

The administration, suddenly under heavy pressure from voluntary health and consumer organizations, then turned the task over to the Public Health Service, with instructions

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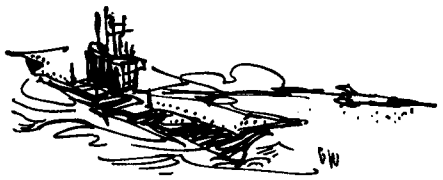
to handle with care. And the PHS did indeed handle with care. It announced that it would undertake two studies. The first would do nothing but survey existing research to determine what was known about the relationship between tobacco and health. The second, which would not begin until the first had been completed, would make recommendations. In both cases, it was decreed that "scientists who have already taken a strong public position pro or con will not be considered" for participation in the ten-member group. Veto power on membership was lodged with the tobacco industry, the American Cancer Society, and other interested organizations. So the industry was maneuvered into endorsing the independence of the study.

WHEN THE REPORT was ready for delivery, some ten months behind schedule, the Public Health Service placed a high priority of secrecy upon its contents. Release was scheduled for a Saturday, to avoid upsetting the stock market. The place of release was the State Department auditorium, with only properly accredited reporters admitted; once inside, there was no getting out during the two hours designated for briefings and "study." (The delay was insisted upon to prevent any half-digested versions from going out over the wires.) And what came out of all this? A 387-page report that concluded, very much as the American Cancer Society had concluded four years ago, that "Cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action." Just what that will involve is a matter to be taken up by the study's second phase, which is now being formulated. As for the tobacco industry, it did not fail to note that in releasing the report, Surgeon General Luther Terry acknowledged that more research would be useful. Said an industry spokesman: "I endorse wholeheartedly and without any reservation Surgeon General Terry's call . . . not for less but for more research by the Public Health Service, the American Medical Association, and other public and private groups of scientists who are seeking the scientific facts we so urgently need."



The Navy at Ebb Tide

HANSON W. BALDWIN

THE MEN who run our Navy feel that the combat effectiveness of American sea power is seriously threatened. The attack comes from several directions at once: the new emphasis in Washington upon airborne troop and cargo transport at the expense of the ship; the expansion of the responsibilities of the U.S. Strike Command at the expense of the Navy; the decline of the merchant marine and the limited naval construction program. All these factors, plus Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara's well-known skepticism about the value in relation to costs of aircraft carriers and missile cruisers, strike the admirals as a concerted effort to undermine the basic principle of the "blue water" school: that control of the seventy per cent of the earth's surface that is water is vital to our alliances and imperative to our security.

Exercise Big Lift, which transported the personnel of an armored division from the United States to Germany last October, disturbed the Navy considerably. The exercise obviously basked in the rare sunshine of Secretary McNamara's favor, and it was heralded by the full blare of the Pentagon publicity trumpets. The admirals thought it was intended to demonstrate that fast planes could replace slow ships and that air transport plus Army troops stationed in this country could assume the traditional fire-brigade duties of the Navy and Marine Corps. Not only would such a concept have the powerful backing of the other services; it also benefited, the Navy felt, from supporting political and economic pressures. For Big Lift was hailed as a technical means to a political end: the United States could reduce the size of its forces in Europe, thus requiring Europe to increase its own defense commitment. At the same time, we would cut the outflow of our dollar reserves to Europe.

As might have been foreseen, the effect of the exercise and the prospect of U.S. troop reductions in Europe seemed to strengthen the hand of the leader the administration liked least—de Gaulle, who had warned Europe of just such an eventuality. It also threatened to undermine the new Erhard régime in West Germany. The seething in Europe's foreign offices did not subside until Washington virtually promised to limit reductions of troop strength in Europe and to maintain indefinitely the equivalent of the six divisions now there.

This has by no means relieved the admirals' apprehensions, however. For the administration's desire to withdraw some of our troops from foreign lands and to check our gold loss are, in themselves, powerful arguments for a ready intercontinental airlift. Early in February an airlift called Quick Release is to move four thousand men from Hawaii to Okinawa. Another large airlift exercise to the Middle East is scheduled, and new and more efficient transport aircraft are on order. The nation's airlift capability, already greatly strengthened by Secretary McNamara, provides a much speedier and more powerful punch than we enjoyed five years ago, and further

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strengthening is planned. Yet, the admirals argue, airlift and sealift are complementary; one cannot substitute for the other. There is no comparable modernization or expansion of sea transport planned.

In Big Lift, more than fifteen thousand troops carrying only personal equipment were airlifted about 5,600 miles by 235 missions in sixty-three hours and five minutes. The exercise was a remarkable demonstration of effective planning and superior performance by the Army and the Military Air Transport Service. But what else did it prove? It showed, as one pro-Navy observer put it, that "troops could get into and out of aircraft." It proved once again—if proof were needed—that aircraft can carry large numbers of people rapidly for great distances. After the exercise, the Military Air Transport Service claimed that in thirty days it could airlift the personnel of ten divisions to Europe.

To the Navy, however, an airlift of this kind could have some limited applicability in a time of tension before the shooting starts but very little importance afterwards. All of the heavy equipment for Big Lift—about sixty thousand tons of it, tanks, guns, trucks, and so on—had been pre-positioned months ahead of time in Germany and France after being moved overseas by ship. There it had been carefully tended and maintained by some 2,600 men drawn from General Lyman L. Lemnitzer's European command—enough to man a couple of reinforced battalions, or a brigade, at the front. Even so, as the Second Armored Division found, much of this stored equipment was obsolescent, and some of it was prone to breakdowns.

Cache and Carry

Pre-positioning of heavy equipment in overseas or distant areas to be issued in time of emergency to men flown from the United States is not a new idea. Weapons for several combat teams have been pre-positioned in Alaska for years, and a strategic reserve from the United States has been flown there to use them—more than once with disappointing results.

Pre-positioning, Navy men say, has some major limitations. Each unit requires two sets of equipment—one for normal use at home and one in storage overseas. This means double orders when replacing obsolete equipment, or—as occurred in Big Lift—giving the airlifted home unit old equipment discarded by the troops on the scene and/or short-changing it on some items. (In Big Lift the Second Armored Division lacked its own aviation equipment.) It means, moreover, constant maintenance of the stored equipment by a sizable cadre detailed specifically for this purpose—a drain in time, money, and men. In the case of the Second Armored Division, the 2,600 men who maintained its overseas equipment depot represented almost seventeen per cent of the divisional strength.

Pre-positioning involves risk. If the equipment is placed too close to the potential front lines, it may be overrun and lost to the enemy; if too far back, it may nullify the value of the airlift—quick reaction time. To be successful it implies the continuous availability during the lift of numerous major airports, landing aids, and support equipment near the area of combat—and none of these could be counted upon when the shooting started.

If, to anticipate all possible needs around the world, many different caches are established, the procedure obviously becomes prohibitively expensive. In the Far East, where few permanent land bases are available, some of the pre-positioned equipment is stored aboard air-conditioned ships. Much of this is inaccessible for proper maintenance and periodic operation.

Big Lift cost an estimated $20 million. Some shipping experts believe that the same number of men, plus some of their heavy equipment, could have been transported to Germany in the thirty-five-knot liner *United States* within five days—a couple of days longer than the Big Lift air shuttle required—at an estimated operating cost of less than half a million dollars. One gallon of aviation fuel will move ten to fifteen ton-miles of cargo on the nation's newest planes; one gallon of ship fuel oil, at half the cost, will move about 250 ton-miles aboard the nation's newest *Challenger* class freighter. Sea transportation is still by far the cheapest type of transportation available.

Moreover, as the Navy points out, no airlift between continents would be possible without ships. Ships must carry the heavy equipment that troops transported by air must use; ships are required to move the great and heavy bulk cargoes—ammunition, fuel, food, and so on—required for combat staying power. Ships must even transport the aviation fuel the transport aircraft need to shuttle back to the United States for another load. In the Lebanon crisis of 1958, for example, the battle group of two thousand men transported by air from Germany required a sea "tail" of twenty-five ships, and had to borrow items from Marine and Navy stocks until the ships arrived.

Brigadier General S. L. A. Marshall has summed it up succinctly: "Cutting the time of troop movement is only one factor in a very complex equation. It cannot make the division whisked overseas the power equivalent of the one permanently stationed there, familiar with its weapons, knowing the ground, already poised for deployment." Nor, say the admirals, can the airlifted troops equal in combat effectiveness or staying power units landed with heavy equipment and full support by amphibious forces.

The political, the economic, the military, and the technical limitations of the plane as a means of transport have convinced the Navy that the projection of military power between continents or across the seas must be supported primarily by ship in any situation less than general nuclear war. The transport aircraft, as the Navy sees it, is fundamentally an opportunistic implement, particularly useful to help "git thar fustest," whenever airfields and "overflight" rights are available. But the rest of Nathan Bedford Forrest's famous formula for victory—"with the mostest"—must normally be carried by ship. All this adds up to the conviction that the plane and the ship are not really competitive in military transport, but complementary.

As the Navy sees it, the challenge to the ship and to the Navy's organi-

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zational and strategic concepts has been accentuated by the recent expansion of the authority and responsibility of the U.S. Strike Command. On December 1, the Strike Command, hitherto largely a functional and planning and training command, became also an area or geographic command and an operational headquarters—the only one of its kind. Responsibility for the Middle East and for the Indian subcontinent was transferred from an admiral in London to General Paul Adams, Commander-in-Chief Strike Command, and responsibility for Africa south of the Sahara was also shifted to General Adams from the Commander-in-Chief, Atlantic. General Adams's broadened duties are now so vast that he has been dubbed Commander-in-Chief, Universe.

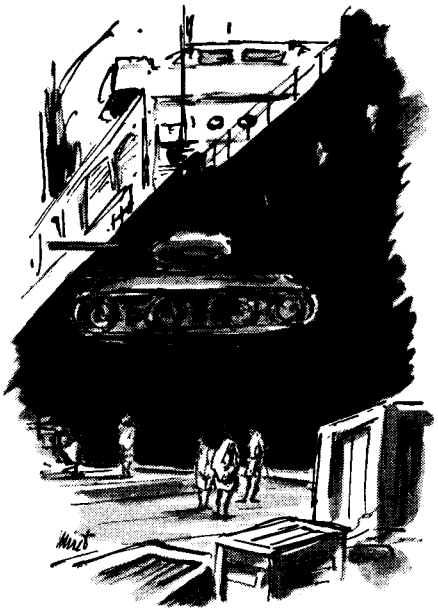
Unfunctional Commands?

Strike Command is fundamentally the concept of General Maxwell D. Taylor, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He and others have advocated the creation of specialized commands, geared to specific functions—limited war, strategic bombardment, anti-submarine warfare, and so on. Strike Command was the first fruit of this concept. It gave General Adams control over a troop strategic reserve in this country and the airlift necessary to transport Army units overseas. At first, the Navy and the Marine Corps had minimal representation on Adams's staff, and no amphibious shipping or Marines were assigned. For the Navy has opposed the concept of functional commands on the basis that it would destroy the integrity and flexibility of sea power, would reduce or break up the proven strength of the Navy-Marine team, and would be unnecessarily costly.

The Navy contends that most of its forces, except the specialized Polaris submarines, are multipurpose forces capable of many different military functions, and that the assignment of, say, several destroyers exclusively to a functional command would limit their flexibility and usefulness.

This is because other destroyers, almost identical in characteristics, would have to be assigned to other functional commands—some to anti-submarine warfare, some to screen carrier task forces, some to provide gunfire support for amphibious landings, and so on. Thus there would be either unnecessary duplication or else neglect of some function. Economy of effort, a basic principle of war, would be violated.

THE NAVY believed that the organization of the fleet under unified oceanic commands (the Atlantic, the Pacific, and so on), with the Fleet Marine Force as an integral part of those commands, facilitated the optimum use of all naval power to perform the most important function of the moment, whether it be a display of force, a blockade, anti-



submarine warfare, winning local air superiority, or establishing a beachhead. This command system also utilized to the full the mobility and flexibility which are the chief characteristics of sea power and which are of major importance in limited war, avoided the "parceling out" of the fleet, and permitted concentration of power at the point of crisis.

The Navy also believed that the concept of maintaining a "fire brigade" in this country, ready to be transported anywhere in the world by air to snuff out brushfire wars, has definite but limited validity. The concept is costly. It is not geared to readiness at or near the area of crisis but to reaction from a distant "fortress." The floating mobile reserve concept (with a Marine battalion with full equipment embarked in amphibious ships), as now utilized by the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, the Seventh Fleet in the Far East, and a task force in the Caribbean, is the only way to ensure the prompt application of sustained military power to any threatened area, the admirals believe.

Air transport, moreover, is vulnerable to political interruption or delay in time of crisis. General Adams's expectations of flight-ferrying troops to the Indian subcontinent or to the Middle East in case of emergency via staging fields in Africa may be politically and psychologically unrealistic, as well as logistically difficult. Nations with neutralistic tendencies have denied us overflight and landing rights in the past in times of cold-war emergencies. Particularly in Africa, the same thing is liable to happen again.

To the Navy, General Adams's recently broadened responsibilities represent a real threat to its time-tested concepts of oceanic command. Twenty-seven naval officers, including a rear admiral, and fifteen Marine officers have been newly assigned to Strike Command's staff in Florida, and the Navy fears the next step will be allocation of some of its amphibious forces and of units of the Fleet Marine Force, now integral parts of the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets, to General Adams. If this occurs, it will mean, in the Navy mind, the beginning of the end of the unified ocean command system and of the Navy-Marine team.

Bottoms Down

The increasing obsolescence of the U.S. Fleet, and particularly of its amphibious forces and of its wartime auxiliary the U.S. merchant marine, is viewed with growing alarm in maritime circles. The statistics are illuminating.

Between 1960 and 1970 the Navy needs some sixty new ships annually if the size of the present fleet—more than eight hundred ships of all types in commission—is to be maintained. An average of thirty-eight per year has been provided for under the McNamara administration.

The Navy's amphibious forces—the specialized types of ships designed to transport fully equipped troops with all their heavy combat

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equipment overseas for the establishment of a beachhead, and the required gunfire and missile support vessels—have been severely affected by inactivation, obsolescence, and reductions in numbers. During the 1962 crisis, Marines from the West Coast had to be loaded aboard merchantmen for transport to the Caribbean because of the lack of specially built amphibious vessels. In a combat situation this could have cost the United States heavily in lives, for the average merchantman is no substitute for a landing craft. The troops thus transported were not ready to go into action; they would have required reorganization first.

The Navy is particularly worried by the decline of the U.S. merchant marine. To officers bred on Mahan's concept of sea power, the merchant marine is not only an economic factor in the nation's peacetime life, not merely a naval auxiliary in war, but part and parcel of maritime greatness. The United States had by far the largest merchant marine fleet in the world when the Second World War ended. Today, less than ten per cent of our ocean-borne trade is carried in American ships.

Last spring the Soviet Union had 236 merchant ships on order all over the world; just forty-seven ships were building for the U.S. merchant marine in U.S. yards. In the six-year period starting in 1954, the total tonnage of merchant ships flying the U.S. flag *decreased* at an average annual rate of almost 450,000 tons. In 1961 and 1962, the Soviet Union added 129 ships totaling about a million tons; the U.S. lost 111 ships totaling half a million.

The Soviet merchant-marine program is plainly aimed at maritime hegemony. The expansion of the Soviet merchant fleet, clearly charted by announced Communist Party plans, projects an unrivaled merchant fleet of some twenty-seven million tons by 1980. Our own merchant marine, now about 12.5 million tons, will shrink in the same period—if past rates are any guide—to about seven million tons.

A Soviet merchant marine of such magnitude can only mean a major bid for world trade, an expansionist and even an aggressive economic weapon to support Soviet political concepts. A merchant marine of such a size must also serve, as the Russian fishing fleets already do, as a highly important naval auxiliary. Quite obviously our national security is affected by the decline of the U.S. merchant marine and the corresponding rise of the Soviet.

THE ADMIRALS see in the recent trends in our defense establishment the ascendancy of the land soldier, with his belief in continental as opposed to maritime strategy, and his view that navies and air forces are essentially his auxiliaries.

But parochialism of any type has no place in modern war. All arms are necessary, none alone sufficient. It is still true that the downgrading, either by action or inaction, intent or neglect, of the capabilities of one service in the supposed interest of strengthening another service can well lead to the weakening of all the services. The United States must prepare for a spectrum of conflict; neither Clausewitz nor Mahan nor Douhet provides the strategic concept for our tomorrows. No one strategy, no one tactic, no one technique, no one service can suffice.

To the United States, a continental island in a world of global conflict, control of the seas is vital. The arterial highways of alliance cross the world's oceans. Cut them and the alliance dies. Cold wars and brushfire conflicts lie across the seas, and sea power in all its forms—on, under, and above the sea—is the most flexible, the most mobile, and the most discreet form of limited-war power available. For the seas are free, and the political and psychological limitations of land bases are avoided by those who can use the seas.

To the United States, the ability to use the broad oceans for our own purposes and to deny that use to any enemy, the ability to project our power inland from the sea, has been our greatest single strategic advantage in limited war and in the world struggle against Communism. Control of the seas is a *sine qua non* of freedom.

Cursing de Gaulle Is Not a Policy

STANLEY HOFFMANN

EVER SINCE his fateful press conference of January 14, 1963, General de Gaulle has become the favorite target of American commentators, officials, and semi-officials. Editorials mention him along with Khrushchev as the major obstacle to American diplomacy. Senator Fulbright in a recent book, Dean Acheson, and Professor Robert Bowie in a number of articles and speeches have asserted that de Gaulle's policy opposes some of America's major postwar aims: European unity, the Atlantic Community, and the transcending of old-fashioned nationalism.

American policymakers and commentators often assume that the only genuine kind of European unification is that advocated by Jean Monnet and his supporters, the establishment of supranational institutions. U.S. policy has not always been consistent; it vigorously supported Britain's application to the Common Market even though Britain made no more of a secret than did de Gaulle of its hostility to supranationality. This contradiction shows that American enthusiasm for the Monnet method is in part mystical faith in federalism, in part calculation: U.S. officials have hoped that a supranational Europe would be united in its receptiveness to American influence.

Whether the Monnet method is appropriate for the solution of all the problems that still divide the Western Europeans is a matter of serious doubt. When de Gaulle says that none of the Six is really willing to accept important decisions made without its assent, the record bears him out. Despite years of hag-

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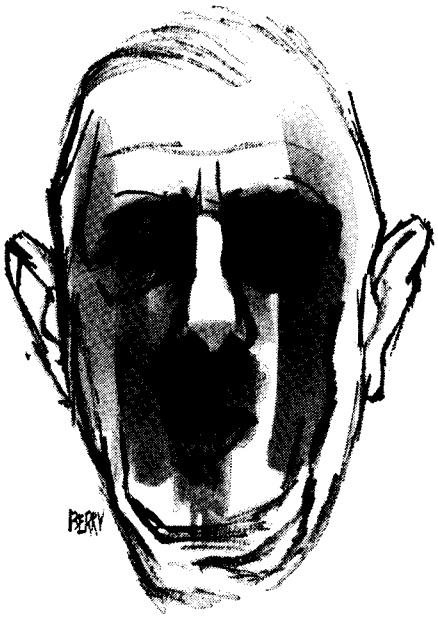
gling, the existence of the Coal and Steel Community has not allowed or compelled the Six to define a common policy on sources of energy. In the Common Market itself, more than once, proposals presented by the supranational Commission have been shelved or mutilated by the national ministers, especially over agriculture. The recent troubles about farm policy brought the Common Market to the brink of disruption. How a supranational committee and a European parliament could miraculously harmonize the luxuriantly divergent foreign and military policies of the Six has never been explained. There is a common will to build European unity; there is still no joint definition of the kind of unity that ought to be achieved. An agreement to lower internal tariff barriers is one thing (and even that one had to be negotiated by the governments); a policy on the external tariff (i.e., trade with the rest of the world), on a common strategy, on a common policy toward the Soviets or in the United Nations is quite another matter.

U.S. spokesmen have called a confederal Europe along the lines proposed by de Gaulle unsatisfactory, either because it would be dominated by one member, France, or else because it would not represent real union. But the first argument confuses an attempt at leadership with a desire for domination, and the second misses at least three points. First, as long as no "better" Europe is possible (because of deep-seated differences, as I suggest, or because of Gaullist malice, as others say), the only alternative to the confederal one is none at all—a situation that U.S. policy has consistently and wisely sought to prevent since 1947, and one that encourages nationalism far more than does de Gaulle's proposal for confederation. Second, it is a mistake to ask de Gaulle (or any other European leader) to "choose" between France's interest and the interest of Europe, for no European statesman will accept a European organization in which his nation's interests are sacrificed or ignored. Third, whether such an organization is truly "European" or not depends on its policies at least as much as on its structure.

It was because of de Gaulle's insistence that a common agricultural policy was initiated and that the Common Market did not become a mere industrial free trading area, as the British would have preferred. It is he who now insists that the Six define a common trade and agricultural policy before negotiating with



the United States during the coming "Kennedy round" in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade meeting. He has vigorously opposed deals between the Soviets and the United States (or the United States and Britain) at the expense of the European states or without their participation. On the other hand, the Benelux countries' rejection of de Gaulle's confederal proposals, Britain's suspicions of West Germany and persistent refusal to contemplate a European deterrence system, and Belgian Foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak's enthusiasm for a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union could hardly be called contributions to Europe's unity and strength.

In those areas where the Six have agreed on common policies, it would be hard to prove that the measures have always been favorable to U.S. economic interests; the famous chicken war of 1963 is a good indication. Indeed, it has happened that suggestions made by the Common Market's Commission were watered down by the ministers, some of whom were reluctant to antagonize America. In other words, a merely confederal Europe is not necessarily a disaster for the United States, nor is a supranational one necessarily a blessing. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the only Europe the United States wants is one which may be occasionally troublesome but which would at least not challenge America's political and military leadership.

The Choice for Europe

This is particularly true in the touchiest area of all: nuclear weapons. Official U.S. policy favors a multilateral nuclear force in which the United States would keep its veto power at first. This means that the circumstances in which and the price for which the veto could be abandoned would be determined by the United States. Such a force would give America a powerful grip on Europe's foreign and military policy, whereas all the Europeans would gain would be a limited access to a small part of the American deterrent—at a considerable financial cost for themselves. This is a recipe for frustration; it would whet the European appetite without satisfying it. The U.S. defends its proposal as a much better solution than a proliferation of national forces, and denounces France's nuclear program because it is national, not European. But at present, Germany is prevented by solemn treaties (and by political wisdom) from becoming a nuclear power, Britain prefers nuclear co-operation with the United States to a European formula, and there is as yet no European military and foreign policy. Without one there can be no European deterrent, just as there could be no European Defense Community ten years ago. Thus, the choice for the French (and for the other Western Europeans) is between exclusive reliance on the Anglo-American monopoly and the construction of an "emergency parachute" in Europe: a small French nuclear force. Why the French effort should compel West Germany to build its own nuclear force (and thus to jeopardize its international position and peace), any more than the British effort does or the proposed multilateral force would, remains a mystery. The French force could in time—i.e., after it has become a reality—turn out to be a

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convincing incentive to the other Western Europeans to devise a common policy so as to profit from and obtain some control over the French force.

Meanwhile, the United States denounces France's policy as disruptive of the Atlantic Alliance. Actually, the Franco-American conflict within the alliance reflects genuine divergences explainable by geography, history, and the plain facts of interstate rivalry, which an alliance never eliminates. Thus, in the military area France's craving for nuclear weapons (which started years before de Gaulle's return to power) originates in a fear shared by many, and in an evidence regretted by many. The fear is that of an American strategy which, by limiting the threat and postponing the use of nuclear weapons in case of Soviet provocation, decreases the deterrent value of those weapons and exposes Europe to the risks of a war of defense. The evidence is that of America's unilateral definition of allied military doctrine, which accounts for the desires of so many Europeans to get some hold over U.S. strategic policy. Can one blame de Gaulle for believing, especially after America's cancellation of the Skybolt, that the best hold is the grip one exerts through one's own strength and effort, rather than that which depends on the other's sufferance? De Gaulle has never presented his force as a potential replacement for America's as long as the cold war lasts, any more than he has ever asked for a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Europe. True, the French nuclear program is expensive; but it is also true that conventional rearmament is not cheaper, and that a division of labor that would leave all nuclear weapons in U.S. hands and specialize Europe in conventional forces would earmark Europe for permanent dependence (both military and political) in the cold war and permanent decline in the international competition.

That de Gaulle's policy implies a refusal to mortgage Europe's future cannot be concealed by the cliché that contrasts his "inward-looking" conception with the "outward-looking" notions of other statesmen. The cliché is discredited not only by statistics of trade between the Six and the rest of the world, but also by France's aid to underdeveloped countries in Africa and de Gaulle's concern for developments in Central and Eastern Europe. It is hard not to interpret current American policy as based on the acceptance of the status quo in Europe, and as projecting an Atlantic Community in which the Western Europeans would always look west rather than east, while the United States would remain free to deal directly with the Soviet Union, or with the new countries, without letting itself be handicapped by European misgivings. De Gaulle's policy, on the other hand, seems to aim at creating in Western Europe a center of power sufficiently co-ordinated with the United States to discourage any Soviet ambitions but sufficiently autonomous to attract those Eastern Europeans who regret the division of Europe and the loss of national independence, as well as to incite the Soviets to future concessions perhaps less costly than concessions to the United States. His objectives, clearly, are the decline of Soviet power and the return of the Soviet Union into the concert of Europe: here there is nothing inherently unacceptable to those, like Dean Acheson, who invented the doctrine and policy of "situations of strength" with the same objectives in mind. It is doubly absurd to see in de Gaulle's conception a will to a "third force." His line is harder than that of the United States, so as to protect Europe from the danger of new Yaltas. For the future, the purpose of a European center of power would not be to remove Europe from the cold war, but to accelerate the end of the cold war by precipitating a change in Soviet policy.

Once again, we find that the only thing such a conception really challenges is not American objectives but American leadership. When Robert Bowie writes that de Gaulle's Europe "would not be a partner of the United States but as independent and separate as possible," he makes one wonder whether in his mind partnership and independence are not incompatible.

As in the case of European unification, we must look at the real, not at the ideal, alternatives to de Gaulle that are available to United States policymakers. In France, the man the opposition is building up as the presidential candidate against de Gaulle, Socialist Gaston Defferre, has already expressed his hostility to the multilateral nuclear force and asked for the end of Soviet-American domination in the world. All over Western Europe, both the U.S. drive for a detente before any mending of Franco-American fences and the U.S. drive against European nuclear forces have been exploited by politicians who would like to take a leave from the East-West conflict altogether. If de Gaulle "threatens" U.S. policy by challenging U.S. leadership, at least he considers the Soviet menace real enough to push France into the atomic business and to oppose the current fashion of diplomatic flexibility. One may wonder whether U.S. policy and interests are not more threatened by those who pay lip service to U.S. leadership but who act as if the Soviets were no longer a revolutionary power, and as if the East-West conflict were a thing of the past. To oppose de Gaulle may well bring aid and comfort only to neutralists or to those men of good will but little memory whose initiatives tend to give away to the Soviets through negotiations many of the things the Soviet Union has not been able to obtain through intimidation.

De Gaulle and History

Many of de Gaulle's critics, who would grant that he has European interests in mind and that his opposition to Soviet totalitarianism is genuine, nevertheless condemn him for being a man of the nineteenth century, incurably in love with the nation-state, unaware of the obsolescence of national sovereignty, anachronistically concerned with French grandeur, and perversely attached to a Hobbesian notion of world politics. His is the voice of a disastrous past; the path of the future is not the balance of power, the rivalry of states, the pattern of alliances, but partnership, the rule of law, international organizations submitting states to common rules and disciplines. That de Gaulle's faith in the nation-state remains unshaken is obvious. What is not obvious is whether Americans are right in condemning nationalism so sweepingly, in

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interpreting de Gaulle's actions, and in charting the course of history.

As long as no form of social organization has yet appeared to replace the nation-state, or as long as the "general society of mankind," whose absence Rousseau noted, is not in sight, the only kinds of nationalism that are unquestionably evil are aggressive nationalism and a nationalism of resentment—Hitler's partook of both. Barring those, the alternative to a sane and sound nationalism of self-respect or pride is apt to be defeatism. Should one prefer the sad, divided, and dejected France of the 1930's or the confused and bitter France of the postwar years to the confident nation of de Gaulle? Is it in the interest of a major power to have satellites or allies?

Many will grant the point but still wonder whether de Gaulle's brand of nationalism and the apparently selfish and cold calculation of national interests on which he acts do not represent a disruptive leftover from the past. But de Gaulle is not a monument from the past. Anyone familiar with his writings and statements should know that grandeur, to him, is an attitude rather than a policy. It is an appeal to action as against resignation, and to sacrifices in return for power; it is the opposite from pettiness, not the contrary of realism. Indeed, de Gaulle as a political figure stands totally detached from the issues of the past (even some that were close to his heart, such as the French Empire) or from the political quarrels of the past. He summons the French to shed old habits and to "marry their century," to become a modern nation able to play a new role, necessarily more modern than, but worthy of, the one France played in the past. He has emphasized the need for transformation and rejuvenation more skillfully and clearly than his predecessors—hence the hostility of many French conservatives toward him. It is when he thinks that others—foreign enemies or even allies—try to prevent France from playing the role he has set for it that he resorts to what one critic has called "obstruction of the highway." The rest of the time his efforts have tended to remove the domestic obstructionists and to build a highway that France could travel with pride as well as responsibility. Never has he advocated absolute sovereignty: "association" is a key word of his political vocabulary, and he has tried to organize associations of nations both in Western Europe and in the area of France's former empire. The man who depended on British and American help during the days of the Free French, and who cultivates Germany's support as well as sympathies in Asia and Latin America today, knows rather well the perils and pains of isolation. If he sometimes seems to accept it, it is because he prefers temporary solitude to excessive dependence. Material and spiritual interdependence he has never denied; it is political dependence that he fears. But as long as the only alternative to the politically free nation is the politically dependent one, de Gaulle refuses to bow to "necessities" which are both specious and resistible.

For the "course of history" does not point to a mutation in the traditional game of international politics. Since the stakes are so much higher—with nuclear weapons, they are nothing less than the game itself—the actors are more prudent, or so we hope. The competition may be more subtle, but it has not been superseded. In the world as it is, the problem of who commands remains crucial. For a given nation, the choice is not between its obsolescent sovereignty and a larger community or civilization; it still is what it always was, though with new twists: a choice between trying to be wherever possible the master of its fate and becoming the client or protégé of some other nation.

THIS IS TRUE even for Western European nations. Even there, where national pride and consciousness fell so low after the Second World War that appeals for the suicide of sovereignty were for a while well received, recovery has benefited the nation-state rather than the ideal larger community, and has led inevitably to a challenge of America's position. The European nations have often been compared to the Greek city-states. What replaced the Greek city-states were non-Greek empires. That only a European entity would have enough power to be a major unit in the world is clear, but just as obviously there would be no point in the undertaking if it were to be manipulated by some other entity, and at this stage there is no other way of creating it than an association of governments.

There is a fatal flaw in many American pronouncements against national sovereignty and warnings against a Europe that would act as a superpower: the attack on the nation-state and power politics is premature and one-sided. Here again the critics are hardly consistent. Never before has the world been so well covered with nation-states, many of them, Americans like to believe, born with the help of the American midwife. In this world, neither of the present superpowers is willing to renounce the privileges and profits of sovereignty and might. The only nations whose obsolescence is constantly being proclaimed by Americans are those of Western Europe. Discrimination, even in the name of progress and harmony, cannot fail to be disliked and suspected. When it comes to promoting a better world, *noblesse oblige:* the lions should give the good example, or else the weaker animals will run away—even if they are told that it is from the course of history they are fleeing.

The truth of the matter is that this course is sometimes clear, for instance insofar as colonies are concerned, and sometimes very muddy, as with respect to what will succeed the nation-state. When history's direction was irresistible, de Gaulle has never stood in its way. When the direction is unsettled, his concern is not to find out history but to make history—to the best of his abilities and of France's resources. Whether he will succeed is far from certain; de Gaulle's policy may be an act of faith. However, his critics would be more convincing if they did not so often sound incensed, not by the scope of de Gaulle's ambition (which is indeed debatable) but by his having any ambition for France at all. Whatever his methods, his aims have been those of all French governments since the war. If the criticisms concentrate on him, is it not because so many people had gotten used to discounting France, and refuse to take it seriously again?

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New York City—Can It Be Governed?

BARBARA CARTER

LOOKING OVER his new automation system a few days ago, New York City's commissioner of buildings, Harold Birns, declared with satisfaction, "We've got a record now of every building in the city, except for Staten Island, which we'll have soon." The new mechanical marvel, which cost $250,000, will automatically process the complaints that come into the department, issue orders for inspection and reinspection, and even summon the landlord to court when necessary. There is one drawback. The department does not have enough key-punch operators to run the machine at maximum efficiency, and there are still long delays in answering the complaints that pour in at the rate of five hundred a day.

Birns is just one case of a city official trying to meet the overwhelming problems thrust upon him. In ten years of slum clearance under Title 1, for instance, New York put up eighteen thousand units, seven times the number of any other city, but slums spread as fast as the new buildings went up. At present 900,000 people, a population the size of Baltimore, the nation's sixth largest city, live in dilapidated buildings called "old law tenements" that were built before 1901. Eleven years ago the state was concerned enough about the transit system to take it away from the city, turning it into an independent agency, but the four to five million who ride its busses and subways each day are still carried like cattle during the rush hours. Indeed, it seems at times that the symbol of the city at its best is its fire department, which is good at putting out fires but unable to do much to prevent them. (In 1957, there were 53,000 fires in New York. Five years later there were almost 70,000.) Everywhere you look, in short, it is apparent that the city cannot keep up with its troubles.

The monumental size of the city is often cited as the root of the problem, but size alone does not explain everything. It is not enough to explain entirely why, during the past decade of the city's declining population, the number of people in its prisons has increased nearly seventy per cent, or why the number on welfare during the past year alone rose from 5.3 per cent of the population to 5.8 per cent. Size, of course, is part of the problem. So is the recent influx of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. So is lack of money. But equally important is the way the city is run.

RECENTLY a book-length report by the Brookings Institution, entitled *Professional Personnel for the City of New York,* showed that the city is faced with a critical shortage of professional, managerial, and technical employees in its government. As many as one out of five such positions is vacant, according to the report, and the city government, moreover, is weighted with those soon to retire. Furthermore, the general quality of the professionals the city *is* able to attract appears to be uneven, to say the least. Here are some comments the Brookings staff considered typical:

"Department C: Poor quality junior chemists and bacteriologists on civil service lists. . . .

"Department E: Getting the dregs of engineering classes. . . .

"Department J: Physicians who can be hired at present salaries are those too old for active office practice, those with unfortunate personalities, and those physically or mentally handicapped. . . .

"Several departments: Administrative personnel are generally inadequate, mainly because they are promoted from clerical positions."

At fault, according to the report, was the system—or rather the systems: the organization system that gives those who run the city's programs little control over their personnel; the salary system that lags woefully behind the outside market; the civil service system that impedes recognition of merit.

It is instructive to note that a new plan for bringing college graduates into city government at a higher level in the promotional scale than the lowest clerk met with outraged cries last summer from the civil service unions. "It will completely de-

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moralize" the entire civil service, according to Daniel P. Cronin of labor's Council 51. Later the president of one of the largest clerical unions blanketed the city with pamphlets of protest. No college graduates have been hired under the plan so far, and the city is currently haggling with the unions about a matching plan for training those in the ranks to compete with the college graduates.

Changing the "system" under which municipal government operates is obviously a slow and complicated task. "What you've got to understand," Deputy City Administrator Henry Cohen said recently, sitting in an office furnished with stacks of unopened cartons containing copies of the Brookings report, "is that we've had a hundred years of government in which the main emphasis has been protection against crooks. Layer after layer of controls, to keep out crooks. But since the 1930's, there has been a tremendous increase in the city's responsibilities. Now the emphasis is on performance."

Fiscal Farce?

For years, the center of the system has been the board of estimate, a hybrid body that came into existence at the turn of the century about the time Greater New York was incorporated. On it sit the mayor, the president of the city council and the comptroller (usually in competition with each other to become the next mayor), and the five borough presidents. The board gained power during the years by taking over executive functions from the mayor and legislative functions from the city council. As a result, the mayor has been hamstrung by the board, and the council has been left to maneuver in its shadow. The main source of the board's extensive power lay in control over the money and its direction of the budget bureau. In fact, the budget director and the budget examiners under him really ran the city's departments, despite the professionals appointed to head them. It was a system of government described as "obsolete and archaic" by Fiorello La Guardia more than twenty years ago.

In a valiant effort to prove that the city is capable of modern government, New Yorkers voted overwhelmingly two years ago in favor of a new charter, the first in twenty-five years. It promised to strengthen the mayor, to make the council more of a legislative body by reducing the powers of the board of estimate, and to give the department heads more flexibility in their own affairs and a measure of freedom from the crippling controls exercised by the budget bureau and the board of estimate. It received the endorsement—with reservations—of almost all the leading civic groups and the press. The New York *Times* called it "a vast improvement," and the Citizens Union said it represented "a long step forward." Some thought it did not go far enough and that the board of estimate should have been abolished. A few thought it went too far, and predicted that the mayor would become a "fiscal dictator." It went into effect in January, 1963, and perhaps it is not too early to see how it is working.

The board of estimate was shorn of some, but certainly not all, of its powers. The borough presidents, for instance, lost control over the construction of streets and sewers in their boroughs, but in compensation voted themselves a $10,000 raise. The new highways department may turn out to be of some benefit to, say,

Queens, where two-thirds of the streets were still not permanently paved and forty per cent of the borough had no sewers when the new charter was adopted. But on most money matters the board still dominates the council.

"I would categorically state," said Theodore Kupferman, a Liberal-Republican on the council, "that the new charter is a farce in terms of any significant improvement."

The council was merely given a token of true legislative authority. It was allowed to increase items in the mayor's budget as well as to decrease them, which was all it could do before, but this hardly made it the equal of the board, which shares the same powers. To nobody's surprise, the mayor vetoed every change the council made last year that did not meet the board's approval. "We just go through the motions," said the disgruntled Mr. Kupferman. Although the council is now allowed to pass certain local measures without the board's approval, it is as impotent as ever as far as money matters go. Its opening session this year, when ten new members were added to its number, was treated with fond amusement by most of New York's press.

What about the department heads, who under the new charter were to be allowed at least the freedom of transferring funds "within units of appropriation," without going through the usual red tape and rigmarole to get the budget director's or the board of estimate's approval? Apparently this small freedom proved too heady for some. During the summer, Mayor Wagner withdrew the privilege from all but a few departments, a step the charter also conveniently provided. For most departments, according to George Hallett of the Citizens Union, it is still "business as usual," though there have been a few minor improvements. For instance, department heads can now fill job vacancies for which they are budgeted without prior approval. For the few departments that were allowed the broader flexibility the charter prescribed, the story is mixed. Where the department head is versatile and tough and in a strong position with the mayor as well as the press, the new freedoms have proved meaningful. Where this is not the case, the touted flexibility hasn't worked out so far, even in minor changes.

The Underestimated Man

If the council has not been significantly strengthened and if most departments still find it's business as usual, has the mayor fared any better

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under the new charter? Granting him broader powers over personnel matters, job reclassification, and salary plans, the charter allowed him to appoint "two or more" deputy mayors to help him handle his increased responsibilities. As outlined vaguely in the charter, Wagner appointed one deputy mayor for administration and a second deputy mayor for policy. "A ridiculous idea," said a veteran observer and occasional participant in city affairs. "How can you separate administration from policy?" he asked. "Since the idea of two deputy mayors was a mistake to begin with, it's just as well their powers aren't more precisely defined." The lack of clarity, however, has been a factor in the battle between Charles Tenney, the deputy mayor for administration, and Julius C. C. Edelstein, the mayor's executive assistant. "It's no secret," said one expert in city affairs, "that the mayor's assistant has been encroaching on the administrator's responsibilities."

One consequence of this and other confusing shifts within the mayor's office has been that department heads are not clear on whom to call for what, and at times have had to phone a wide assortment of officials in the hope of getting a little business done. Inconsistently, the mayor has directed some departmental matters that now fall within his purview to his legal aide rather than to his deputy for administration; and the legal aide, already overburdened with other responsibilities and ignorant of the details involved, sends them on to the bureau of the budget for advice. In effect, the old routine takes over.

IT IS SAID that part of the confusion reflects Mayor Wagner's style. So far he has resisted issuing an executive order defining Tenney's duties as city administrator, though he has been promising one for some time. "You have to interpret Wagner along the lines of F.D.R.," one authority on city affairs said. "F.D.R. was noted for confusing the lines of authority and constantly reshuffling them. He liked to keep the reins in his own hands, and not set anybody up with too much power." Since the city administrator is about to leave to take a judicial post, and others are vying for similar appointments, the confusion continues.

Wagner prefers to be unobtrusive, to keep the lines of authority loose, not to show who's boss except on selected occasions. "He's the easiest man around to underestimate," said Wallace Sayre, Eaton Professor of Public Administration at Columbia University and co-author of *Governing New York City,* which along with the Brookings report is seen, if not read, in the offices of nearly all important city officials. The fact that Wagner is now entering his eleventh year as mayor, the longest run of any except LaGuardia since the city was founded in 1665 (Richard Varick, who served twelve years beginning in 1789, doesn't exactly count because mayors were still appointed then), is taken by many as evidence of more than mere staying power. His victory over the party regulars in 1961 did not put him in too much debt to the reformers, and it earned him a measure of popularity with a press that had been growing noticeably cold. Now his curve is on the high rise, and the *Times,* for example, is almost profuse in congratulating him on getting the proposal to fluoridate the city's water supply passed. Where in 1960 a *Fortune* article brushed Wagner off as an "amiable, indecisive" man who leaned heavily on the "city's 'other mayors,'" a recent article in *Life* praises him as "one of New York's greater mayors."

There has been a good deal of talk recently about Wagner's usefulness to the Democratic Party as a candidate for either the Senate or the Vice-Presidency next fall. If he does win election to a higher office, he will be the first mayor to do so since Tweed put John T. Hoffman in the governor's seat back in 1868. The only elected mayor who moved on to Washington was Fernando Wood, who, thanks again to Tweed, ended his days in the House of Representatives. Over the years, City Hall has been a dead end rather than a springboard, and the greatest wonder of all would seem to be Wagner's fondness for the mayor's job.

The Great Budget Mystery

Wagner's habit of playing his cards as close to the vest as possible has come in for a good deal of criticism, and his manner of implementing the new charter has been no exception. Ten months after the new charter went into effect, the mayor was attacked by the Citizens Budget Commission and the New York Chamber of Commerce for ringing an "iron curtain . . . down around many elements of the City's official business." They referred to a "wall of almost impenetrable secrecy" behind which the annual expenditures of more than $3 billion in tax funds and $1 billion in borrowed funds occurred. They pointed to the power the mayor had over the budget, first in proposing it and later in vetoing changes. "Government under the charter," they said, "has largely become a matter of 'Executive Order,'" and Wagner, they charged, issued his executive orders in "semi-secret." Of the seventy orders given so far, they complained, some had not been accompanied by a press release, though many had to do with important fiscal and personnel matters. Requests to have them published as a matter of course in the City Record were denied. Copies, it was said, would be made available to those who asked for them. The only trick is to know when there is something worth asking for.

While talk about the mayor's operating behind a veil of secrecy may seem exaggerated, hardly anyone would dispute that the second most important man in city government, the budget director, operates in an area of general mystery. Few understand the workings of his office, but the Brookings staff uncovered enough to hold the bureau partly responsible for the current shortage of qualified personnel in the city government. It accused the bureau of exercising

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far too much petty control over personnel, and it recommended, among other things, that the bureau turn its attention to broader areas of fiscal management and leave many of the details of administering the departments to the department heads and the personnel department. But the bureau does not seem particularly responsive to such recommendations. "I hear complaints," one experienced observer said recently, "that the budget bureau is sabotaging attempts to implement the Brookings report. It's still keeping pretty close control over personnel."

At sixty, Budget Director William F. Shea is a rather florid, chunky man who came up through the ranks to replace Abraham Beame, who was elected comptroller two years ago. It's an office that is said to have changed little in thirty years. "The budget bureau is not holding anything up!" Shea exclaimed recently when told of complaints about "foot-dragging." Swiveling in his chair, he glanced at a copy of the Brookings report lying on a table near his desk. "A lot of people think the Brookings report is gospel," he snorted. "Why, it's already out of date. There've been a lot of raises since it was issued."

UNDER the new charter, the bureau is no longer responsible to the board of estimate but to the mayor, and its loyalty—if it can be called that—is transferred to him. "We're acting on the part of the mayor," Shea said. "If anybody has any criticism, let them criticize the mayor." Shea recently held a meeting with department heads and few of them, he said, had any complaints. "What complaints there were, were minor." He was not opposed to departments having more freedom. "Let them have it," he said expansively; "many don't know what to do with it anyway." He seemed to look forward with some relish to the day when, after department heads had exercised a modicum of freedom over their budgets, they would return to him for funds.

But the day-to-day struggle to run the government is only part of the picture. "It's never been possible around here," one expert said, "to get any interest in long-term fiscal planning." He spoke of the many committees that during the last ten years have been urging long-range planning for the city. "Our greatest problem," he said, "lies in the lack of understanding of what professional talent can contribute. To my knowledge, no professional economist has ever worked on city fiscal affairs in the bureau of the budget or in the comptroller's office. I mean a man with a Ph.D and trained in tax analysis."

The budget director seems to be no more moved by such suggestions than he is by the Brookings report. "One reason we're not liked," said Shea, speaking of criticism from professional economists, "is that we don't go for that bunk. Native intelligence is ninety per cent of the job." Experience counted most. His assistant remembered that they did once have a statistician who "had an M.A. or something," but she was "terrible." She sat in a back corner

of the library and didn't produce a thing that was useful. It was with great relief that they finally got rid of her.

Yet the lack of long-range fiscal planning has been accompanied by a lack of long-range goals. Consequently, the city's more than a hundred agencies and departments go their separate ways with no coordinated plan, and often at cross-purposes. Take the problem of the city's youth. There are today at least 77,000 out-of-school, out-of-work adolescents roaming the city's streets. Probation officers and youth workers urge the dropouts to go back to school, school authorities want to keep the troublemakers out, and citizens' groups advocate scrapping the vocational schools, where the courses are so irrelevant that more drop out than graduate. Youth workers, in a humane attempt to prevent gang warfare by gaining the confidence of teen-agers, had little success until a police crackdown a few years back. Since then, the gang leaders have turned to narcotics, and the city is helpless in the face of rising addiction among young people. The Health Department, whose regular duties include the inspection of 101 poultry slaughterhouses during the year and three million quarts of milk a day, in addition to conducting more than three and a half million clinical examinations a year, now requires its staff to take a pilot course on the emotional problems of the young. The department has recently opened a mental-health clinic for adolescents, and, among other things, is seriously concerned about the astonishing rise of venereal disease among those under twenty and even under fourteen. In the last eight years the rate has doubled, and an estimated 13,000 city youngsters now have syphilis or gonorrhea. While the departments of health, welfare, education, correction, and police, and the youth board tackle bits and pieces of the youth problem, as yet there is no general agency effectively co-ordinating their efforts, despite a start in that direction.

THE WHEELS of power may spin somewhat more freely at the top, but the antique structure of most of the bureaucratic agencies below seems as obdurate and unsusceptible to change as ever under the new charter. Obviously the New York *Times* was far too hopeful when it announced that "All New Yorkers, from Hunter Island to Tottenville, will soon be living under a government adequate to their modern needs." That was back on November 4, 1936, when the now-discarded charter was approved. The prediction still seems off by light-years.

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'Der Stellvertreter': The Play That Caused a Storm

FREDERIC V. GRUNFELD

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GERMANY'S postwar literary revival has produced few important books but many displays of fireworks. It is always fascinating to watch this fractious evolution progressing from crisis to crisis, from scandal to brouhaha to imbroglio, the authors arrayed against the politicians or against each other, their quarrels stopping just short of physical assault but not always this side of the law courts. All the earlier controversies, however, are only minor tempests compared to the violent storm that has blown up over Rolf Hochhut's first play, *Der Stellvertreter*. (It is soon to open in New York and also to be published by Grove Press as *The Deputy*, though *The Vicar* would be a more accurate translation, since the title is an allusion to the Pope as "Vicar of Christ.")

"Since 1945," writes the Swiss critic Willy Jäggy, summing up the case from a neutral viewpoint, "we have waited in vain for a modern German drama that would dare to lance the ugly boil of Germany's *unbewältigte Vergangenheit* [its unrequited past]. Now, unexpectedly, a young author steps onstage and, though he cannot subjugate the past, provokes a passionate controversy that will bring it out into the open."

Hochhut was thirty-one when his work was produced in West Berlin last February—in Erwin Piscator's three-hour condensation of the printed play, which would take eight hours to perform. In either length, his drama is the angriest and most rudely accusatory product of a notoriously angry and outspoken generation. His thesis, basically, is that by maintaining official silence about the extermination of the Jews under Hitler, Pope Pius XII failed to carry out his mission as the Vicar of Christ. His hero is a young Jesuit priest who chooses martyrdom at Auschwitz (a composite figure, drawn from several actual models); his villain is a diabolical Gestapo doctor who bandies jokes with his victims before sending them to the gas chamber (again, a documented case). Between them, at point zero, stands the immovable figure of the Pope, unwilling to protest publicly because that would jeopardize his diplomatic position as a go-between and peacemaker.

This theatrical indictment, by an unknown Protestant writer, of a Pope idolized by many as "a special friend of the German people" aroused a flood of Catholic protest. Msgr. Erich Klausener, for example, the brilliant young spokesman for the Berlin diocese, says the play ". . . reinforces old anti-Catholic resentments and makes it too easy for audiences to justify their past by using a scapegoat Pope. . . . As some foreign students have protested: for a German author, this is too cheap!"

INDIGNATION has centered on the fact that the Pope himself appears among the *dramatis personae*. "The fourth act is a slanderous libeling of Pope Pius XII," say several clerics who knew him. It is "falsified history" to present him as "a coldly calculating, financially and economically interested politician," according to the Berlin prelate Walter Adolph. Cardinal Montini, prior to his election as Paul VI, commented that the play had insufficient "psychological, political, and historical insight" into the character of the man or the problems of his office, so that the result was "theatrical injustice." And again Pope Paul, speaking in Jerusalem, showed evidence of his distress: "Everyone knows what he [Pius XII] did for the defense and the rescue of all those who were caught in its tribulations, without distinction. And yet you know suspicions and even accusations have been leveled against the memory of this great Pontiff.

"We are happy to have the opportunity to state on this day and in this place that there is nothing more unjust than this slight against such a venerated memory. Those who intimately knew this admirable man know how far his sensibility, his compassion for human suffering, his courage, his delicacy of heart could go. Those who after the war came with tears in their eyes to thank him for saving their lives also knew it . . . ."

Enough Catholic writers and intellectuals, however, have rallied to Hochhut's support to prevent the dispute from being fought along purely sectarian lines. The Dominican Willehard Eckert writes that "Despite its unevenness, this book is fascinating . . . through the honesty of Hochhut's struggle and the absolute sincerity of his spirit. The questions he asks of the older generation as representative of the younger one have not occurred to him only. They are honestly the questions of all young people who still think about the history of our times. . . . Hochhut deserves to be heard."

"Though a Catholic, I am for him," says the distinguished writer Ursula von Kardorff. "Not because he launches a prejudiced, almost amok-running attack on Pius XII—these scenes are bad—but for a different reason: there are episodes in this play, and they are reinforced by the stage directions, that make our National Socialist past live again in a way that takes your breath away. . . . His play hits its target dead center; it forces us to look this Gorgon, this monster, in the face."

Whether or not they accept Hochhut's hypothesis, most of the theatre critics are deeply impressed by his literary virtuosity. "Here at last is a German author who can write dramatic dialogue," says Carl Zuckmayer, who wrote *The Devil's General* and *The Captain from Köpenick*. "I can affirm this all the more strongly because I happen to disagree with him."

Der Stellvertreter is a morality play, but it has little in common with the fashionable "abstract" di-

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dacticism of the post-Brecht era. In fact, Hochhut has bypassed the main influences on today's German playwrights—their own Brecht plus Williams, Sartre, Ionesco—in order to revive the declamatory forms of Friedrich Schiller's historical tragedies. Though he deals with real, or at any rate "realistic," characters who retain distinct regional and occupational accents, he lets them speak in the formal, unrhymed metrics of the classical theatre.

As a literary tour de force, this is roughly comparable to writing a play about Roosevelt in blank verse, using current slang as well as formal English. Like Brecht, Hochhut has a keen ear for class distinctions among words; he can even strike sparks of poetry from the pseudotechnical jargon favored by Nazi officials. In German at least, this stylistic mixture is not as incongruous as it may sound: the measured rhythm of the language is a necessary counterweight to the terrifying urgency of the action. The talk is persuasive, half artificial, and unavailing. While the talk goes on, time runs out. At the beginning of the play, twenty-four hours cost several thousands of lives; at the end, a day is worth tens of thousands. In effect this is the old-fashioned German "rescue drama" (on the order of *Fidelio*), but without the standard denouement, and amplified to an inconceivable scale.

THE UNDERLYING RHYTHM of the monstrous clock that runs on human blood is established as soon as the curtain rises; a member of the Resistance in SS uniform bursts into the office of the Berlin Papal Nuncio to report the horrors he has witnessed in Poland. Both the Nuncio and the SS officer, Kurt Gerstein, are historical figures: Gerstein was a conscientious objector who joined the SS to be in a position to help concentration-camp victims, and he actually made a series of daring but futile efforts to interest Vatican representatives in averting the "Final Solution."

It is typical of Hochhut's literary method that he bases the opening scene and Gerstein's main speech on a report written by the real Gerstein (who did not survive the war), but this detailed document is converted from dry engineers' prose into irregular iambic lines. I have trouble preserving even a part of this dualism in translation, but the sense of it is approximately as follows:

Listen, Your Excellency, you—they—
I must tell you . . . (*without a break*)
The chambers, until now,
have worked on carbon monoxide,
fed from exhausts;
But many times the motors will not start.
In Belsen I have watched—it was
on August twentieth—how they have
had to wait two hours forty-nine minutes
till the gas came.
Four chambers, forty-five cubic meters
to each chamber, and each holds
seven hundred and fifty men and women.
Some pray, some cry, or shout;
but the majority are silent.
Twenty-five minutes is the time
the gas takes, but they have called me there
to help them do it faster. (*Shouts*)
I won't! I won't!
The naked corpses stand like basalt columns;
even in death you recognize the families.
They have embraced each other and
are locked together—one uses hooks
to tear these groups asunder.

The Nuncio turns Gerstein out of the embassy, but his report rouses the anger and indignation of a visiting Vatican aide, the young Jesuit Riccardo Fontana. Responding to Gerstein's appeal (and Hochhut's leitmotif)—"We share this blood guilt if we do not speak"—he helps smuggle a Jewish fugitive out of Berlin and agrees to carry word to Pius XII, "the only man in Europe free from the suspicion of propaganda."

Through his father, an Italian count who advises the Holy See in financial matters, Riccardo attempts to obtain a formal papal statement condemning the extermination of the Jews and excommunicating those who participate in the murders. Count Fontana: "His heart is with the victims." His son: "And his voice? Where is his voice?"

The monasteries are opened to hundreds of fugitives, but the Pope declines to issue an official protest. Nor, as Bishop of Rome, does he break his silence when the Roman Jews are rounded up by the Gestapo for shipment to Auschwitz. Hochhut's third act is devoted to some of the too optimistic Jews (frequently Catholic converts) who continued to live under the Vatican windows until October, 1943, when they were "dragged to their death."

ACT FOUR—the one that has drawn the sharpest critical fire and the one that is most obviously fictitious—introduces the white-clad figure of Pius XII. Riccardo, now completely insubordinate, learns from him that the spirit of neutrality must reign in the Holy See: "Reasons of state forbid Us to denounce Herr Hitler as a bandit," so long as he is "still useful in the East." At the climax of this interview, Riccardo fastens a yellow Star of David to his soutane, dramatizing his resolve to join the deportees as a *Stellvertreter* of Christianity.

The Auschwitz death factory that Hochhut depicts in the fifth act is not exclusively the work of professional killers but rather the cumulative product of the various greater and lesser Nazis who have appeared in earlier scenes. Among them are the "friendly pedant" Adolf Eichmann, a "scientist" who collects skulls for his university, a Ruhr industrialist recruiting slave workers, a "humane" Wehrmacht colonel, an ambitious civil servant (the stage directions envision him as "a Bonn ministerial counselor by 1955"), and finally the infamous doctor who performs experiments on living flesh.

Riccardo and the doctor meet in a black-and-white confrontation of absolute good and evil such as the "psychological" theatre would never find admissible. The doctor, mockingly:

Not a sigh came from above, not a sigh for fifteen months,
since I began to send these tourists here on their quick journey up to heaven.

And the priest's fervent reply:

God does not stand *above* our history;
For He partakes of our finite lot; in Him all of man's suffering is summarized.

In the end, Riccardo dies the "meaningless" death the doctor has prescribed for him, "like a snail squashed by a tire." But Hochhut suggests that such a death does have meaning: Riccardo's fate, after all, is based on the martyrdom of Father Maximilian Kolbe, a Franciscan who was tortured to death at Auschwitz

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and who is now a candidate for canonization. Hochhut has dedicated his drama to Father Kolbe and to the Berlin prelate Bernard Lichtenberg, who also paid with his life for opposing the "Final Solution."

In the closing minutes of his eight-hour play, Hochhut cites a diplomatic dispatch filed in October, 1943, by Freiherr von Weizsäcker, then German ambassador to the Vatican: "Though reputedly urged to on several sides, the Pope has not let himself be pushed into any demonstrative utterance against the deportation of the Jews. . . . Even in this touchy question he has done everything not to jeopardize relations with the German government."

ALTHOUGH Hochhut buttresses his case with forty-five closely printed pages of documentation, it has not been difficult to charge him with "willful oversimplification." In its very essence, for that matter, the theatre is a *reductio ad absurdum* of life. But does his stage distillation bear some recognizable relationship to the available evidence of history?

"Hochhut has not obtained his information from the Vatican archives," objects the Jesuit historian Professor Robert Leiber. "The papal secret archives, incidentally, are accessible only up to the year 1846! . . . Instead, he has assiduously collected everything that could be used against the late Pope." As the Pontiff's former private secretary, Father Leiber is a key witness in the debate. He has made several important points: "Pius XII never regarded Hitler's war against Russia as a crusade against Bolshevism," but at the same time, "the fact remains that of the two systems, National Socialism and Bolshevism, Pius XII, with his gaze on the future and on the greater whole, held Bolshevism to be the more dangerous."

He cites the Pope's many behind-the-scenes efforts to save Jews from the Nazis, and the more than five million dollars contributed in aid. And he quotes the Chief Rabbi of Rome, Elio Toaff: "More than any others we have had occasion to experience the great kindness and the magnanimity of the Pope during the years of persecution and terror, in days when it seemed there would be no escape for us."

"As to the main question," adds Father Leiber, "why did the Pope remain silent? . . . The Church was steered through the Second World War by a Pope who embraced and followed the principle of Benedict XV during the First World War, to protest against injustice, violence, and brutality only in generalized form, regardless of where or by whom they had been committed. During the Second World War and even afterwards, acts of violence and atrocities were committed in unimaginable forms by almost all sides, so that for the Pope—if he were not to appear partisan—there would have been no end of protesting. . . ." Furthermore, an open papal challenge would not have prevented the "Final Solution" from being carried out; on the contrary, "It was better to keep silent and save lives."

On this crucial issue comes vigorous dissent from another Catholic historian, Dr. Hans Kühner, the former director of the Biblioteca Germanica in Rome, who helped hide refugees in Vatican buildings during the war. "Those who object to the play are noticeably unable to furnish a factual rebuttal," he writes. The situation "demanded an example from the Pope; from the world-embracing moral and spiritual authority of Pius XII one could and must have expected a world-shattering action. At the very latest, a demonstrative papal declaration should have followed the day when the first thousands of Jewish citizens of Rome were transported to their agonizing deaths. . . ."

On the other hand, the Bonn historian Rudolf Morsey points out that the Church was not even able to save its own priests, of whom some three thousand perished: "The famous push button in the Vatican never existed."

THE ARGUMENTS are no less complex than the play. Albert von Kessel, once an aide to Weizsäcker at the Vatican: "A flaming protest by the Pope in 1943 would not have saved a single Jew's life." Carl Amery, a contentious Catholic essayist: "The German Catholic milieu was ripe for capitulation [to Hitler], and nothing, absolutely nothing, neither the voice of its bishops nor the voice of Rome, would have prevented this capitulation." Sebastian Haffner, a leading political commentator: "Can the Vicar of Christ on earth, like a worldly statesman, act only if he has expectations of success? Aren't there cases when he must speak, even when nothing is improved, and some things may even be made worse?" And the Protestant theologian Helmut Gollwitzer: "As the highest representative of a Christian church, he should have spoken out (1) to *scream* on behalf of those whose mouth was forced shut; (2) to warn all Catholics—and beyond that, all men—against participation in these crimes, and to exhort them to lend every possible assistance."

I cannot begin to summarize, let alone evaluate, all the points that have been made in the course of this polemic. Charges and countercharges over *Der Stellvertreter* continue to swell the dissonant chorus of massive disagreement. Nothing has been proved, except the power of literature to open old wounds (which, evidently, were not very satisfactorily healed).

Friedrich Duerrenmatt, the Swiss playwright, said not long ago that German literature was "in a state of perpetual crisis" because it had not come to terms with its guilt complex. A German Protestant's attack on the Pope for failing to complain about German atrocities may be something less than an ultimate confrontation with German guilt, but *Der Stellvertreter* may open the way to an eventual catharsis. There has certainly been no lack of free discussion, in countless sermons, articles, university forums, radio programs, television round tables. Three books about the drama have already been published. One of them, *Summa Iniuria*—a paperback best-seller in its own right—is an anthology drawn from more than three thousand comments by writers, critics, churchmen, historians, and other keepers of the public conscience. In Paris, at the Théâtre de l'Athénée, the play has provoked a series of riots and skirmishes with the police. In Basel, one of the quietest towns in Europe, there were mass demonstrations against a production of *Der Stellvertreter*. Indeed, if there had been as loud a controversy over the *Endlösung*, this drama would never have been written.

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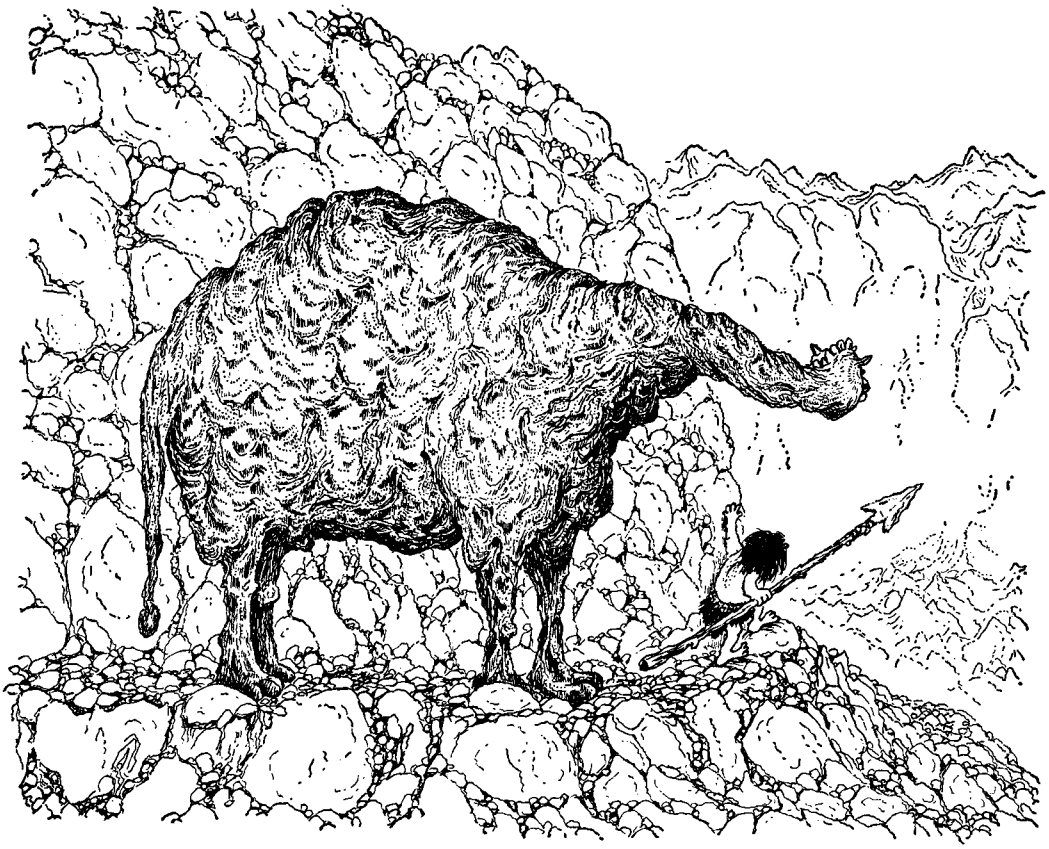
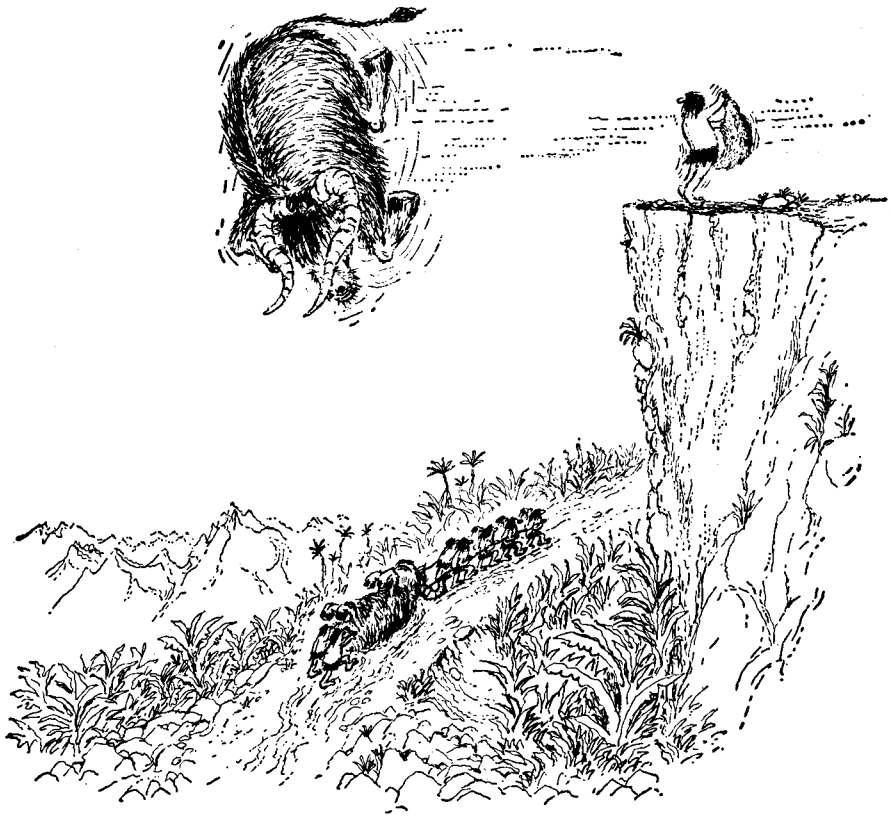


The Hunt by Fernando Krahn



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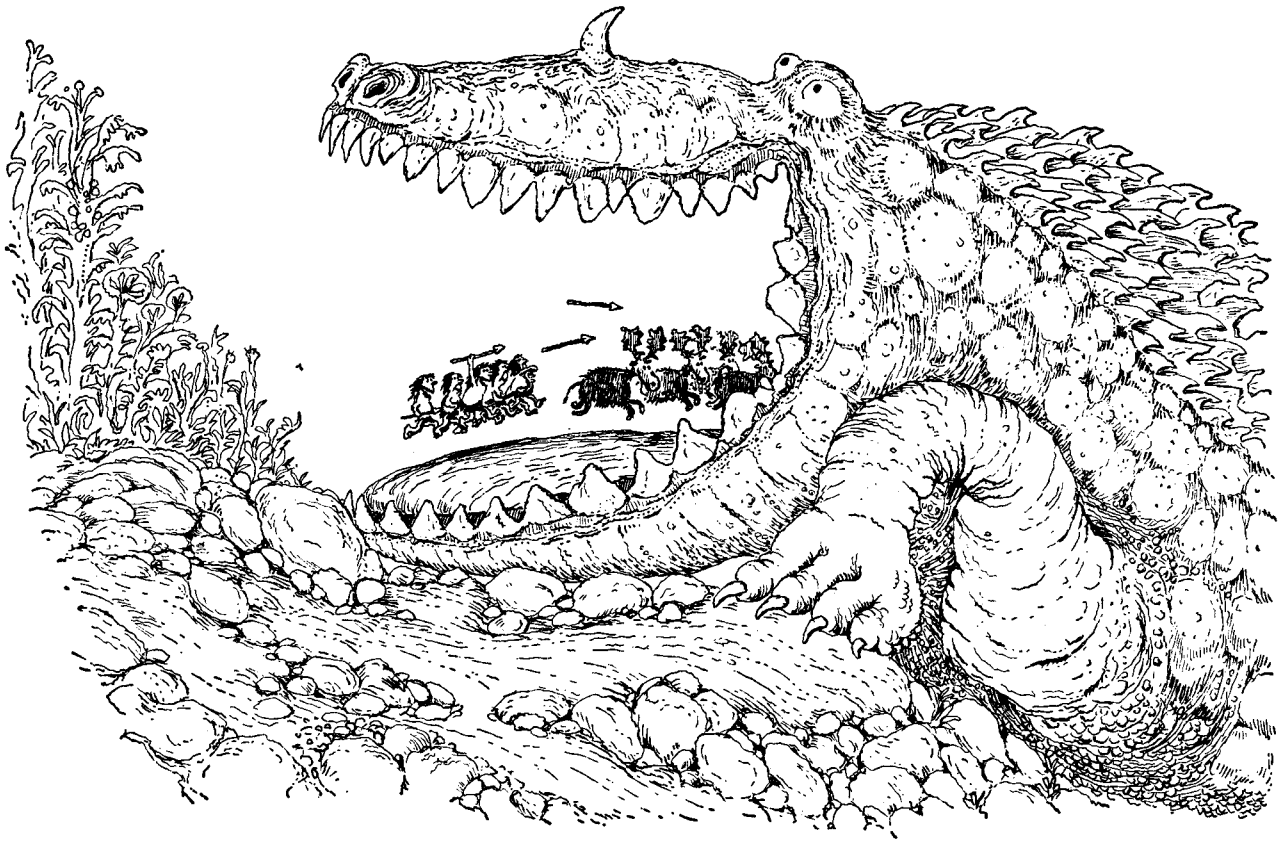

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A Field Guide To Government Jargon

SPENCER KLAW

NOT LONG AGO, I had a chance to try my hand at a form of literary engineering for which there seems to be an unprecedented demand these days. For the better part of two weeks, I worked in Washington, D.C., as a consultant to a governmental advisory committee, one of those groups of prominent citizens that are now so frequently appointed to look into problems such as smog, or juvenile delinquency, or the plight of the humanities in an age of science. I will not identify the problem handed to my particular committee to solve, although I may note that it is one which, in the words of a staff memorandum, "has a crucial bearing on both the short- and long-run performance capabilities of this nation and, indeed, of all free societies."

At the time I was signed on as a consultant, the committee had been wrestling with this problem for almost a year, and my assignment was to assist as an editorial midwife at the birth of a preliminary draft of the committee's final report to the President and the nation. Writing committee prose is hard work—even harder, perhaps, than reading it. But I discovered that the job can be made somewhat easier if one keeps in mind certain fundamental rules, which I will list in summary form:

¶ In making recommendations, never state flatly that the people who will have to put them into effect have been doing a lousy job. Say, "While progress achieved over the past decade has been most gratifying, further improvement is not only possible but desirable."

¶ If the committee has no idea about how to effect such improvement, or if it is hopelessly divided over what concrete proposal should be made, it is customary to note that "The formulation of specific programs and procedures must, of course, await the availability of accurate information on which to base rational decisions."

¶ If it is necessary to make the foregoing point more than once—which I gathered it almost always is—beware of giving the reader the mistaken notion that the committee has been too lazy to collect the facts that are needed. One way to avoid this is to emphasize the need not so much for new facts as for new fact-finding machinery—by stating, for example, that "A system must be established and responsibility clearly pinpointed throughout the Executive branch, for ensuring an adequate flow of relevant and integrated information to decision-makers at all appropriate levels of government."

¶ Don't frighten people unnecessarily by evoking images of new bureaucratic controls. If the committee thinks, for instance, that there should be a tighter rein on government purchases of rocket fuel, say so as fuzzily as possible—e.g., "The evidence would seem to warrant the assignment within the departments concerned of responsibility for the establishment of appropriate policy guidelines governing the purchase of rocket fuel."

¶ Beware of stating proposals in simple, commonsense terms; readers may conclude that you haven't given sufficient thought to the problem at hand. It is poor tactics, for example, to point out that too many different agency chiefs are making decisions about the same thing, and to suggest that their heads should be knocked together. It is better to note that "Decision points are widely distributed throughout a complex and loosely articulated system," and then to say that "While gratifying progress has been made, further measures to facilitate improved co-ordination of this complex process within clearly defined parameters are nevertheless desirable." This formulation has the additional merit of suggesting, without the committee's coming right out and saying so, that more study is required.

¶ Be sure to stress the extraordinary—indeed, the unique—complexity of the problem your committee has been asked to study. Make it clear at the outset that "The alternatives confronting decision-makers in this vital area of our national life have had to be weighed in the light of the subtle interplay of conflicting interests in a society that is itself changing with bewildering and unprecedented speed." A sentence like this helps to explain why, despite the $150,000 it has been given for research, the committee has been able only to scratch the surface of the problem.

¶ In the interest of achieving a desirable textual density, it is a good idea to incorporate all the facts you can lay your hands on. Those that don't fit into your argument can be inserted at random, preceded in each instance by the phrase "It is interesting to note that . . ."

¶ Finally, if it appears that the rocket-fuel situation is actually pretty well in hand and that there was probably no need in the first place for the appointment of a special advisory committee, the thing to do is to shift contexts. One may write, for example, that "Even though production and consumption of rocket fuel are for the moment in approximate balance, this committee would be derelict if it did not examine the supply-demand situation in the wider context of the complex interplay of shifting and conflicting forces that characterizes the nation's international environment." This lays the foundation for a ringing declaration to the effect that "In a true sense, indeed, this nation can never have too much rocket fuel."

WHILE I would like to think that the foregoing list is fairly complete, I should point out that even after my two weeks in Washington I apparently still had much to learn. "The chairman is delighted," the committee's staff director wrote me a few days after I had returned to my home in New York. "He feels that commendable progress has been made toward drafting a report which adequately takes into account the many-faceted complexity of the problem. At the same time, he feels that certain improvements would be desirable. . . ."

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BOOKS

The Ugly America

C. W. GRIFFIN, JR.

GOD'S OWN JUNKYARD: THE PLANNED DETERIORATION OF AMERICA'S LANDSCAPE, by Peter Blake. *Holt, Rinehart and Winston. $4.50; paperback $2.95.*

THE QUIET CRISIS, by Stewart L. Udall. *Holt, Rinehart and Winston. $5.*

If you heed only the statistics on rising incomes, gross national product, and automobile sales, you can rejoice at the prospects of a constantly rising standard of living. But if you simply look around you, you may find it difficult to enjoy this statistics-inspired euphoria. The prospects of our rapidly growing metropolises becoming decent places to live, work, and play in are grim. Along with our constantly improving gadgets we are getting more polluted air, contaminated from the exhausts of automobiles crawling along in our mounting traffic jams. We are poisoning our rivers and lakes, losing them as desperately needed recreational sites. Our shrinking open space and parks are becoming less accessible as sprawling, unplanned suburbs spread over the countryside, consuming land with reckless abandon and spoiling opportunities for efficient, economical development.

In his preface to *God's Own Junkyard* Peter Blake sets the violent tone of his polemic: "This book is not written in anger. It is written in fury —though not, I trust, in blind fury. It is a deliberate attack upon all those who have already befouled a large portion of this country for private gain, and are engaged in befouling the rest." Who are the objects of Mr. Blake's wrath and what are their crimes? They are the billboard owners who spoil our landscape and help deafen us with visual noise. They are members of the highway lobby—the nearly omnipotent combination of highway officials, automobile clubs, trucking organizations, labor unions, and highway contractors, who will apparently never rest until they can offer the mutilated corpses of our cities as total sacrifices to the cult of the automobile. They are the land speculators, developers, and slumlords, who, subsidized by culturally suicidal tax policies, are at best debasing our architecture, at worst preying on the misery of Negroes penned in crowded ghettos.

FOR ANYONE who needs evidence of these crimes, Mr. Blake has assembled 157 photographs contrasting the most beautiful with the ugliest scenes in America. In a country with so little man-made urban beauty, the minority of beautiful scenes quite naturally displays the unblemished magnificence of nature. The ugly scenes cover a wider range of spoiled landscapes and cityscapes: freeways knifing through cities, the concrete ribbons bending over, under, and around in contorted, land-devouring intersections; the rusting hulks of discarded automobiles piling up at the rate of five million each year; outlandish signs, theatre marquees, overhead power lines, and billboards combining in scenic discord; vast tracts of single-family houses stretching over treeless suburban deserts scraped bare by bulldozers.

Mr. Blake displays special animus toward suburbia at its worst (". . . interminable wastelands dotted with millions of monotonous little houses on monotonous little lots and crisscrossed by highways lined with billboards, jazzed-up diners, used-car lots, drive-in movies, beflagged gas stations, and garish motels"). Since the war, nearly ten thousand square miles of land have been covered with single-family houses. Some fifty million Americans now live in suburbia, and within the next twenty years another fifty million are expected. The sprawling development is eating up open space, fouling up transportation, raising costs of utilities and services, and creating a stultifying homogeneity in the social structure of these respectable white reservations.

Encouraging variety in the buildings permitted in suburbia would simultaneously solve many of these problems, says Mr. Blake. Cluster zoning, a new planning tool designed to preserve open space and reduce homebuilding costs, is one technique he advocates. Building attached two-story houses on 1,200-square-foot lots, about one-sixth the normal lot size, would preserve private patios and permit assembly of the excess land in large, communally owned recreation areas. Building houses in clusters also minimizes the earth-scarring work of the bulldozer, preserving trees and natural contours. It cuts the tax burden by reducing government costs for road maintenance, sewerage, water supply, and even trash collection. To encourage variety in the physical as well as the social composition of suburbia, Mr. Blake advocates high-rise apartments. And he cites two studies showing that, contrary to suburbanites' fears, high-rise apartments more than pay their way even for schools, since each apartment unit averages about one-fourth the number of school-age children normally housed in a single-family dwelling.

SO FAR, SO GOOD. But Mr. Blake's disdain for suburbia blinds him to a basic cause of the sprawling development he deplores. According to Mr. Blake, some suburban ignoramuses don't even know what community they belong to, and most of them are unconcerned with local government. Actually, to the suburbanite local government is a shield protecting him from the outside world, a Declaration of Independence from the big cities. It is also a means of retaining some vestige of personal influence on political decisions. Despite his use of this influence for negative purposes like escaping the big cities' welfare costs and preserving the monolithic social structure of his community, the suburbanite is less apathetic politically than the city dweller.

The universal tool used by suburbanites to protect their stake in Happy Hills is "fiscal zoning"—the policy of seeking high-priced houses on large lots to prohibit construction of financially burdensome, child-filled houses on small lots. (A $15,000 house containing just three school-

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age children can cost a local government four times as much as the property taxes paid on it, representing a net annual loss of $1,000 or more to the community.) Under the present zoning policies of the New York metropolitan region's 551 local governments, nearly half the region's 3,400-square-mile reservoir of vacant zoned land is reserved for single-family homes on lots of one acre or larger. In the next twenty-five years the predicted addition of six million people to the region's present seventeen million will probably consume more land than has all the previous development since the Dutch colonists bought Manhattan Island from the Indians. Despite the heavy welfare and rebuilding costs for the region's older core cities, the capital expenditures required to accommodate Spread City (the New York Regional Plan Association's name for this prospective undifferentiated urban smear) will be two and a half times as much per capita in the outer counties as in the older cities, where population will remain stable. Per capita highway construction costs in the outer counties will probably exceed the total per capita expenditures for *all* services in the inner cities.

THE tremendous development costs for Spread City's outer regions would not be so appalling if the suburban communities whose zoning policies promote the chaos also paid for it. But unfortunately, suburbanites can export a great proportion of their fair share of the cost to other parts of the region. Urban freeways are built largely for the benefit of suburbanites who insist on commuting by automobile.

Commuting motorists get tremendous hidden subsidies from city taxpayers and other highway users. Traffic projections based on present trends indicate that twenty-lane freeways may be required to accommodate future rush-hour traffic in some cities. And the commuting motorist does not pay his share of the exorbitant costs of these additional rush-hour lanes, which on a car-mile basis can cost three times as much as lanes designed for normal traffic. A commuting motorist driving twenty miles each way to and from work is subsidized up to $1,000 per year, according to the Regional Plan Association.

And this is not the whole story. Freeways slash through cities, creating blighting dead ends, removing land from tax rolls, requiring mass relocation. City-subsidized parking garages, underassessed private parking lots, traffic controls and police all constitute subsidies for the motorist. In Los Angeles, where sixty-four per cent of the downtown area is covered with roads and parking lots, a public building under construction devotes more space for automobiles than for office workers, an extravagance paid for by general taxpayers for the exclusive benefit of commuting motorists. Yet it is the relatively trifling subsidies for mass transit, which alone stands between a city like New York and total economic disintegration, that excite newspaper editorial writers.

Thus the suburbanite's interest in local government creates greater problems for the exploding metropolises than any apathy he may be guilty of. Suburbanites are determined to perpetuate the antiquated system of local governments whose collective folly of fiscal zoning raises the service costs of entire regions. Cluster zoning, expanded to incorporate apartments, could help promote orderly development within a local community and help distribute population efficiently throughout the metropolis. But more radical changes are required to promote good over-all regional development. Unless local governments surrender some of their zoning powers to metropolitan planning units capable of viewing the metropolis as a whole, we can look forward to bigger, more widespread traffic jams as merely one of the miseries in store for the future.

I won't dwell further on Mr. Blake's failure to assess these political problems, for such criticism suggests that he should have written a different book. He has aimed at our aesthetic conscience rather than our political conscience, and his merciless attack is, I think, well deserved. In our attitude toward civic beauty, we Americans easily rank as the most barbarous people in the western world. Despite their surrender to the automobile, which has already spoiled many historic sites in Rome, Florence, Brussels, London, and elsewhere, Europeans seem to treasure the beauty and amenity of their public places. There are no U.S. counterparts to the hundreds of intimate little parks of London, the tree-shaded boulevards of Paris with their colorful outdoor restaurants, and the magnificent Piazza San Marco and other architectural splendors of Venice. The tile roofs of the humblest European cottages give them an architectural dignity beyond that of our more expensive development boxes, with their cheap asbestos siding and asphalt-shingled roofs. Our toleration of architectural mediocrity and environmental ugliness betrays even more than a lack of taste. We are so preoccupied with the private side of life that we seem only half conscious of our surroundings.

SECRETARY UDALL traces the historical antecedents leading to *God's Own Junkyard.* Throughout the nineteenth century, the pirates of industry plundered the resources and fouled the natural beauty of this continent. Under the banner of rugged individualism, the timber raiders left a trail of blackened woods and stripped hillsides. They did more than any other group to dispel the illusion that our resources were inexhaustible; by 1920 only one-fifth of our vast primeval forests remained uncut. We owe our modern conservation programs to a handful of conservation pioneers who dared to challenge the venal creed that made government a partner in plunder. The depredations then rationalized by the Myth of Superabundance are today rationalized by the equally fatuous Myth of Scientific Supremacy, a faith that science can painlessly cure anything from polluted air to soil erosion without sacrifice by anyone.

This naïve optimism springs, of course, from our pioneer past. Despite our growth into an urban, industrial society, we still seem to be imbued with the anarchic spirit of the frontier. On the public level, this nostalgic romanticism appears in crusades like last spring's fight in Phoenix, Arizona, to abolish that city's housing code. Led by a fundamentalist minister obsessed with the quaint notion that the housing-code ordinance was unconstitutional, the

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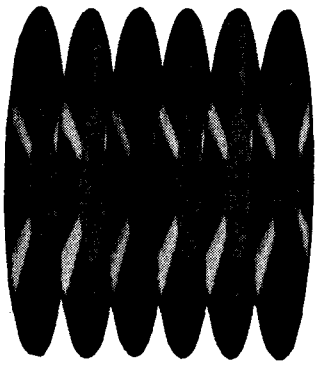

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604 WILLIAM SCHUMAN: Judith, A Choreographic Poem. GIAN-FRANCESCO MALIPIERO: Piano Concerto No. 3 (Benjamin Owen, Pianist).
605 PAUL HINDEMITH: Sinfonietta in E. CLAUDE ALMAND: John Gilbert: A Steamboat Overture. DAVID DIAMOND: Overture: "Timon of Athens".
606 BERNARD ROGERS: Dance Scenes. JOAQUIN RODRIGO: Cuatros Madrigales Amatorios: for Soprano and Orchestra (Audrey Nossaman, Soprano). VINCENT PERSICHETTI: Serenade No. 5.
611 ELLIOTT CARTER: Symphony No. 1. ALEXEI HAIEFF: Divertimento.
613 PETER MENNIN: Symphony No. 5. JOAQUIN RODRIGO: Concerto Galante for Violoncello and Orchestra (Grace Whitney, Cellist).
614 ALAN HOVHANESS: Magnificat for Four Solo Voices, Chorus and Orchestra, Opus 157. CHOU WEN-CHUNG: All in the Spring Wind.
615 ALEXANDER TCHEREPNIN: Piano Concerto No. 2 (Alexander Tcherepnin, Pianist). ARTHUR HONEGGER: Suite Archaique.
616 ROBERT KURKA: Symphony No. 2. ROBERT WHITNEY: Concertino.
621 CHARLES IVES: Decoration Day. LOU HARRISON: Suite for Symphonic Strings.
622 HENRY COWELL: Thesis (Symphony No. 15). RODOLFO HALFFTER: Ballet Suite, "La Madrugada Del Panadero" (The Early Awakening of the Baker).
623 HARALD SAEVERUD: Peer Gynt Suite No. 1, Op. 28. GEORGE ROCHBERG: Night Music.
625 ROSS LEE FINNEY: Symphony No. 2. IAIN HAMILTON: Scottish Dances, Op. 32.
626 BENJAMIN BRITTEN: Violin Concerto No. 1, Op. 15 (Paul Kling, Soloist). PAUL BEN-HAIM: Pastorale Variee for Clarinett, Harp & Strings, Op. 31 (James Livingston, Soloist).
631 ZOLTAN KODALY: Symphony (1961). NELSON KEYES: Suite, "Music for Monday Evenings".
633 WALTER PISTON: Concerto for Viola and Orchestra (Paul Doktor, Violist). HALL OVERTON: Symphony No. 2 in One Movement.
635 CARLISLE FLOYD: The Mystery. Five Songs of Motherhood for Soprano and Orchestra (Phyllis Curtin, Soprano). ROBERT SANDERS: Little Symphony No. 1 in G.
636 FRANK MARTIN: Concerto for Violin and Orchestra (Paul Kling, Violinist). ERNEST BLOCH: Proclamation for Trumpet and Orchestra (Leon Raper, Trumpeter). TOSHIRO MAYUZUMI: Pieces for Prepared Piano and Strings (Benjamin Owen, Pianist).

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gullible citizens of Phoenix voted their housing code out of existence. As a consequence, Phoenix today has no ordinance requiring indoor bathrooms, hot and cold running water, and other amenities that Americans accept as a mark of twentieth-century civilization. The only beneficiaries of this quixotic assertion of the pioneer spirit are the slumlords. They gained a free hand in exploitation that, because of widespread judicial coddling of these parasites, is not too difficult even in cities with exemplary housing codes.

Fortunately, while Phoenix has been regressing, most U.S. cities have been advancing. The number with housing codes has increased from fifty-six in 1955 to 736 in 1963. But to cope with their rapidly mounting problems, cities must move faster on the accelerating treadmill of deterioration merely to hold their own.

Within the next twenty years the U.S. will gain an additional eighty million people, and almost all of these newcomers will settle around our great metropolitan centers. Advancing technology and population growth have expanded our capacity for fouling our environment far beyond that of our nineteenth-century forebears. Though we may avert the horrors prophesied by Orwell, 1984 may still be a miserable year. «»

The Nuts That Bolt

DONALD A. ALLAN

A SINGULAR MAN, by J. P. Donleavy. *Atlantic-Little, Brown. $6.*

A relatively new kind of novel has appeared in America since the Second World War. It is the serio-comic fantasy about an unfettered (not to say unhinged) individualist and his antic struggle to survive in a world seemingly bent on destruction of body and spirit. "Normal" people are shown to be preoccupied with how to kill each other, how to engorge themselves with stupefying luxuries, how to efface themselves in a dreary mass culture: anyone who goes against this standard of sanity is an outcast or a nut. In Joseph Heller's *Catch-22* the nut is a bombardier whose aberration is that he doesn't want to get killed. In Terry Southern's *The Magic Christian,* money, materialism, and mass smugness get the works from a prankish multibillionaire whose hobby is "making it hot" for the fatuous. Antecedents of the form may be found in the works of Nathanael West; more recently such novels as *V* by Thomas Pynchon, *The Revelations of Doctor Modesto* by Alan Harrington, and the books of J. P. Donleavy are all of the genre. It is a genre that has contributed some of the most wildly funny writing of recent years.

WHEN Donleavy's *The Ginger Man* appeared five years ago, the critics' catchword was "picaresque," a classification that has been applied to many of the new fantasy novels. But the adventures of Sebastian Balfe Dangerfield, the Ginger Man, were not the merry japes of a Lazarillo or a Tom Jones. They were the desperate evasive actions of a fugitive from the demands of "normal" society. Dangerfield was dead broke and unwilling or unable to cope with his G.I. Bill studies in Dublin and with the needs of his wife and child. So he ran and ran. In *A Singular Man,* which might be called "Son of Ginger Man," he is still running, this time under the alias of George Smith. Instead of the freedom of absolute poverty, he has the freedom of absolute (and unexplained) wealth; instead of Dublin and London he careens erratically about New York and its suburbs. What is much the same is the choppy language: "In front of a tall marble building. Gigantic bronze doors. Smith entering this emporium of finance with his paper bag." And there are still the comic effects of unexpected switching from dignified parlance to bursts of breezy slang. And the Irish turns of speech. And the hilarious string of Chaplinesque misadventures that Smith, like Dangerfield, skips through one jump ahead of disaster.

But there are differences. Unlike the Ginger Man, a lively, lusty rogue, Smith is a rather sad, timid, and yearning figure who dresses austerely, affects Edwardian manners, travels in a bulletproof limousine, and talks to himself: ". . . show people you're in command of the situation by not saying much, don't let them get in close, keep everyone at arm's length, stop smiling kindly."

He yearns for love. Not, of course, from his wife and children—who are relegated to a chaotic suburban house, while George lives in style at Merry Mansions, 2 Eagle Street—but from a fantasy girl of Mother Earth warmth, wisdom, and vitality, and from a mousy, virginal replica of the Ginger Man's Miss Frost. Both are his secretaries; he approaches them hungrily but diffidently, addressing them formally as Miss Tomson, Miss Martin. Smith, you see, is not only running away from problems but is also unable to move toward the rest of humanity. Other contacts with his fellow man leave him virtually inarticulate. After a car crash he holds up a card to his victim: "DEAF MUTE —WATCH MY SIGNS." When he is approached by a former schoolmate he retreats into beeping: "Ha you're George Smith all right." "Beep." "What do you mean, beep for an old friend. We were prepsters together." "Beep." (Donleavy eschews the question mark throughout *A Singular Man.*)

Smith is obsessed with the construction of an elaborate mausoleum, a project that infuriates his wife and mystifies the public. A symbol lurking here? The misunderstood artist, isolated in the materialistic world, building for posterity? Or the lonely terror of man facing death? It hardly matters in this kind of book. Nor does it really matter that Miss Martin becomes pregnant (Smith escapes), that Miss Tomson dies (Smith escapes again), or that a mysterious J.J.J. & Associates threatens his financial empire (he survives). It is all a daydream of escape. And it is all marvelously funny.

The hard problems of this world, the responsibilities of living, are too much for the Ginger Man, for Smith, and for the other new "picaresque" heroes. They grow beards, put on dark glasses, change their names, and bound across the landscape like cartoon kangaroos fleeing red-hot desert sands. Escape, after all, is one of the most common responses of modern man to modern life. The new fantasy novel is its literary reflection.

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THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler® No. 94

by HENRY ALLEN

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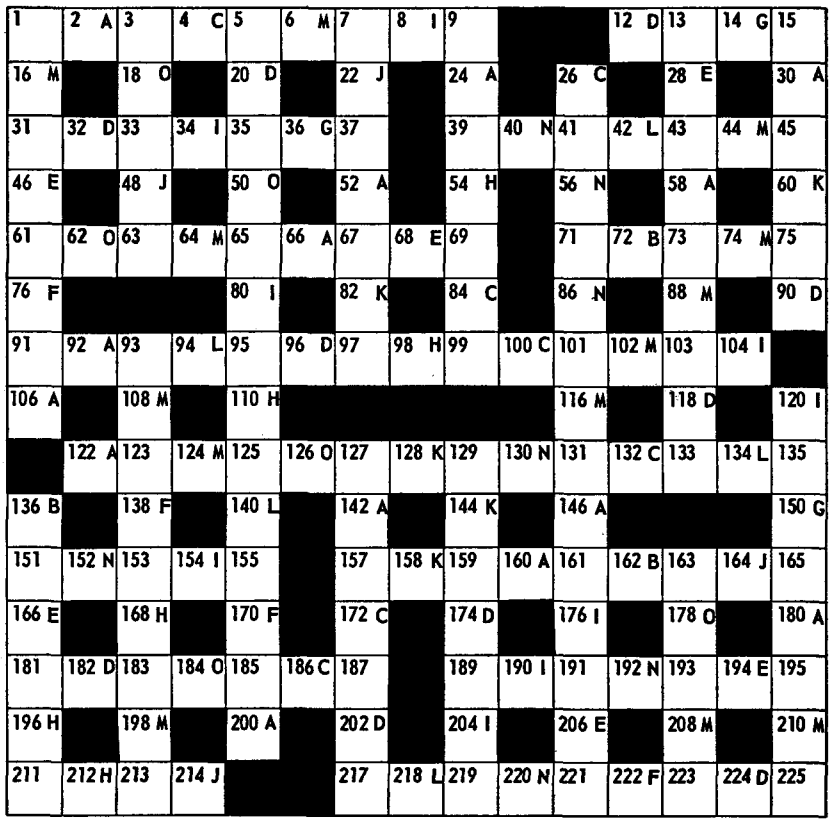
DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.



A
106 146 122 2 30 66 180 142 160 92 52 58 24 200 The wherewithal for purchases (9,5).

B
72 136 162 Scottish expression of surprise.

C
100 186 4 84 132 26 172 Copy or reproduction.

D
118 32 202 20 12 90 96 174 224 182 The Metropolitan, for example (5,5).

E
206 194 166 46 28 68 A linen or cotton fabric with a woven pattern of constantly repeated figures, as diamonds.

F
222 138 170 76 Formerly (Latin).

G
14 150 36 "Im Monat ____." Song by Schubert.

H
54 110 196 212 168 98 The grip of a bell rope (alt. sp.).

I
204 34 120 176 8 104 190 80 154 Territory whose area included the country of the Acrostician.

J
22 214 164 48 A part of the Nazi greeting.

K
158 82 128 144 60 Nimble.

L
94 140 42 134 218 Relationship of Queen Elizabeth I to the eldest son of Henry VII.

M
210 108 64 116 88 44 6 102 198 16 74 208 124 Dr. Kildare's bailiwick (9,4).

N
152 130 56 86 220 40 192 In an awkward predicament (2,1,4) (slang).

O
178 126 50 62 184 18 To knock the forehead on the ground while kneeling.

ACROSS

1. The drain is way down, but it's depitched (4,5).
12. Fostering Latin apples.
31. Kind of theater to play opera in (4,3).
39. As there is something which warms over...
61. ...so there one may use a tile in relaxation (2,7).
71. Little Robert? O, he's a mechanical type.
91. Does he chant? Frogmen can be found with Parisians (5,3,6).
122. Title of the Acrostician (8,6).
151. Title of work in which 71 first appeared joins with Al in a country way.
157. But one may do hard work sitting in it (4,5).
181. It meant action about a negative.
189. It's trim about rage if you drive on this part of the wheel (4,3).
211. 61 across is other but not A-1 true.
217. Sentimental appellation of old tunes which have fire-setting in the middle (4,5).

DOWN

1. How to reduce a squad with a rapid moan? Not 1! (4,1,3).
3. Confederate general from New Ellsworth.
5. What an artist or a well man must have (7,7).
7. How a penetration goes when it's rough at last.
9. She is reflective? Reflexive, at least, this certain lady.
13. Elizabethan philosopher is thin, especially at the breakfast table (4,5).
15. Things of worth in the demitasse Tsars drank from.
26. A hundred Marxists chat. Error results in the leasing archives (7,7).
93. Lips groan when mentioning semi-precious finger ornaments (4,5).
120. How Andy might begin a letter along the same road (4,4).
127. Is the Red dead? As I feared.
129. A part of London may be as a tail, it seems.
136. Read 150 for what a ruler should rock.
163. Can you spend a krona in this city?

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A Continent Discovered

RONALD M. SCHNEIDER

THE WINDS OF REVOLUTION: LATIN AMERICA TODAY—AND TOMORROW, by Tad Szulc. *Praeger. $5.95.*

In the five years since Castro came to power, journalists and publishers have been discovering Latin America. The results have been mixed, with sensational but superficial tracts too frequently receiving greater attention than a smaller number of penetrating and provocative works by men who really know and understand this complex region. Thus, John Gerassi's strident *The Great Fear* appears to have stirred up more interest than Karl Schmitt and David Burks' serious effort to describe and analyze the dynamics of Latin-American politics in their *Evolution or Chaos*. Similarly, neither Albert O. Hirschman's *Journeys Toward Progress* nor Charles Wagley's *An Introduction to Brazil* has yet met with the reception recently accorded to less penetrating volumes. Nevertheless, the fact remains that today's reader has a large selection of worthwhile books treating a wide range of Latin-American topics to choose from, while reviewers no longer are obliged to welcome almost any book merely because it is relatively accurate and up to date.

Even as part of a bumper crop, Tad Szulc's *The Winds of Revolution* stands out as one of the most useful books of the past year and as the best journalistic treatment of Latin America to appear in more than a decade. The European-born Mr. Szulc, who has served more than six years in South America as a correspondent for the New York *Times*, understands both the Yankee and Latin-American viewpoints. He has probed most deeply into the two countries whose attitudes and actions over the past few years have caused the greatest concern within the hemisphere: Cuba and Brazil. Nonetheless, significant developments in all other Latin-American republics are discussed and interpreted. Building upon the foundation of his earlier *Twilight of the Tyrants* and numerous articles for his newspaper, Szulc has attempted to bring out the pattern underlying events throughout the region during the postwar period. That he has not been entirely successful stems from the magnitude of the task as much as from a failure to consider duly the evolution of the area prior to 1945.

Szulc finds that ideological issues have very little meaning for the bulk of the Latin-American population. Most people have all they can do to eke out an existence while hoping somehow for a chance at a better life. Among the politically active youth, faith in western representative democracy is weak, and there is a willingness to experiment with semi-authoritarian revolutionary régimes. For this, the author blames ". . . the older generation of Latin America's democratic leaders, who knew how to conduct political revolutions against dictatorial oppression but stopped short of encouraging the social change so clearly needed." Thus, the democratic gains of the late 1950's rested upon a faulty foundation. Szulc contends that the United States, in failing to respond swiftly and positively to Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek's proposal, first made in mid-1958, for a collaborative attack upon the problem of Latin-American underdevelopment, ". . . missed one of the great historic opportunities for Hemispheric leadership, declining to do willingly, and with all the credit accruing to it, that which it was to do three years later under the gun of a Communist revolution."

Against this background Szulc effectively examines developments in Cuba, and the U.S. and Latin-American reaction thereto, welding a number of disparate elements into a comprehensible story. His portrayal of recent events in such vital countries as Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, and Peru turns on the thesis that "A vicious circle has been created as the processes of democracy do not seem adequate to force the implementation of reforms upon which the very future of this democracy depends." Although his relatively substantial treatment of the Alliance for Progress runs from very sober to despondently pessimistic, particularly on the failure to develop a political mystique, Szulc does recognize a number of substantial accomplishments in specific fields and areas.

Szulc is understandably reluctant to predict future trends and developments, but he sees emerging from the conflict between the democratic and Communist aspirations "a Latin America that experiences an increasing desire to become uncommitted in the East-West conflict so that her own resources and those of both competing blocs can be channeled into her development." He does not, however, rule out the possibility that if democratic ideology and representative government can evolve a more effective appeal, the Latin-American social revolution may develop in closer harmony with the West.

THERE ARE some perplexing inconsistencies in this useful book. Many are questions of emphasis, qualifications, and caveats, but they contribute to an impression that the author went through successive periods of optimism and pessimism. Such a feeling is borne out by Szulc's subsequent articles, which by and large have been more hopeful than his book's prophecies of gloom if not doom. This difficulty is compounded by the lack of historical perspective and use of the key term "revolution" in several differing senses. The shortcomings of this approach and the author's relative neglect of Central America are most evident in a failure to recognize the importance of developments in Guatemala in the decade following its revolution of 1944 as a precursor of the Cuban revolution of 1959. In this instance the telescoping of events is grotesque, even if allowance is made for a possible typographical error, since "In 1954, a regime that was a weird mixture of chaotic social revolution and pro-Communism" did not emerge in Guatemala; rather, something considerably more complex that had evolved over a period of years was then overthrown. Similarly, the Bolivian revolution of 1952 is brushed aside in a most cursory manner. In spite of these flaws, *The Winds of Revolution* stands as a generally perceptive and realistic assessment of the hemispheric situation by an intelligent and well-informed observer.

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